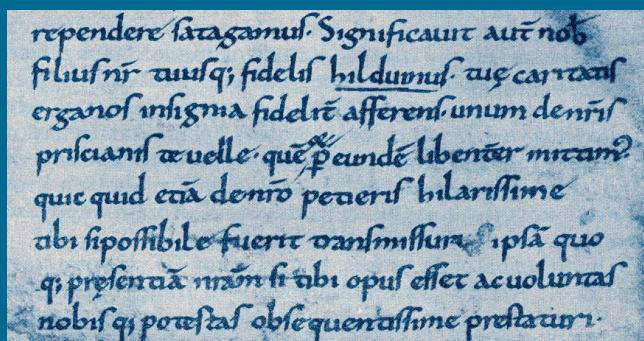


Előd Nemerkenyi

Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary *Eleventh Century*



rependere satagamus. Significauit autē nob
filius nŕ tuusq; fidelis hilduinus. tuę caritatis
organos insignia fidelit̃ afferens. unum denŕis
priscianis ꝛ uelle. quę p̃eunde libenter miram?
quic quid etiā denŕo petieris hilarissime
tibi si possibile fuerit transmissura. ipsā quo
q; presentā nŕā si tibi opus esset ac uoluntas
nobis q; potestas obsequentiŕime prestaturi.

C E U M E D I E V A L I A

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

NEMERKÉNYI
LATIN CLASSICS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

ΑΓΑΘΑ
STUDIA AD PHILOLOGIAM CLASSICAM PERTINENTIA
QUAE IN AEDIBUS UNIVERSITATIS DEBRECENIENSIS
REDIGUNTUR

XIV
SERIEM EDENDAM CURAT
LADISLAUS HAVAS

CEU MEDIEVALIA
TOMUS VI

**Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary
Eleventh Century**

ELŐD NEMERKÉNYI

Edited by
László Havas & Imre Tegyey

Copy-editor
Matthew Suff

ISBN 9637326049
ΑΓΑΘΑ ISSN 12197130
CEU Medievalia ISSN 15876470

Debrecini–Budapestini
MMIV

ΑΓΑΘΑ XIV

UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY
Department of Classical Philology

CEU MEDIEVALIA VOLUME 6

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY
Department of Medieval Studies

Előd Nemerkenyi

**LATIN CLASSICS
IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY
ELEVENTH CENTURY**

Debrecen–Budapest, 2004

© Dr. Előd Nemerkenyi 2004

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the permission of the publishers.

Central European University Press
400 West 59th Street
New York
NY 10019–1105
USA

Internet: www.ceupress.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Nemerkenyi, Előd.

Latin classics in medieval Hungary: eleventh century / by Előd Nemerkenyi.
p. cm.

(CEU Medievalia 6; ISSN 15876470)

(Agatha studia ad philologiam classicam pertinentia
quae in aedibus Universitatis Debreceniensis rediguntur 14; ISSN 12197130)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 9637326049 (pbk.)

1. Latin literature—Appreciation—Hungary.
 2. Latin literature—Study and teaching—Hungary.
 3. Latin philology (Medieval and modern)—Hungary—History—To 1500.
 4. Latin literature (Medieval and modern)—Hungary—Roman influences.
 5. Hungary—Intellectual life—To 1500.
 6. Classicism—Hungary.
 7. Humanists—Hungary.
- I. Title. II. Series. III. Agatha; 14.

PA6023.H9N46 2005

470'.71'0439—dc22

2004027509

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS: Acta sanctorum

CCCM: Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina

CFHH: Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae

CSEL: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DHA: Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima

GL: Grammatici Latini

LLMAH: Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae

MGH: Monumenta Germaniae historica

PL: Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina

RIS: Rerum Italicarum scriptores

SC: Sources Chrétiennes

SRH: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
CHAPTER ONE	
The Cathedral School	13
CHAPTER TWO	
The <i>Admonitions</i> of King Saint Stephen of Hungary	31
CHAPTER THREE	
The <i>Deliberatio</i> of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád	73
CHAPTER FOUR	
The Monastic School	157
CONCLUSION	177
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Primary Sources	181
Secondary Literature	201
INDEX	267

INTRODUCTION

The principal thesis of the present study is the following: the Latin classics had a stronger impact on the formation of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary than has been acknowledged before. The choice of subject merits an introduction to the current state of research. Scholarship on medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages has always occupied the crossroads of classical philology and medieval studies. Observing that classicists and medievalists are “two related but usually distinct audiences,” Carol Dana Lanham complained that “a troubling gap persists between classical Latin and medieval Latin as fields of study... Many classicists seem uninterested in the *Nachleben* of the authors they study, and look down on medieval Latin as «the bastard at the family reunion.» Medievalists—except the relatively few who specialize in Latin texts—often ignore, or at best tolerate the *Vorleben* that furnished the Latin education of the authors they study.” Scholars bridging this gap, however, have already contributed a great deal to the understanding of the influence of classical Latin on medieval Latin.¹

Considerably less attention has been paid to the question of what exactly ‘the classics’ meant. The term itself originates in Roman antiquity, notably in Varro’s *De lingua Latina* 5.16.91: *Classicus a classe, qui item cornuo canint, ut tum cum classes comitiis ad comitiatum uocant*. Varro’s etymology of the term for the first of the six *census* classes established in Rome under Servius Tullius was adapted by Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 6.13.1–3: (*Quem “classicum” dicat M. Cato, quem “infra classem.”*) “*Classici*” dicebantur non omnes, qui in quinque classibus erant, sed primae tantum classis homines, qui centum et uiginti quinque milia aeris ampliusue censi erant. “*Infra classem*” autem appellabantur secundae classis ceterarumque omnium classium, qui minore summa aeris, quod supra dixi, censebantur. Hoc eo strictim notaui, quoniam in M. Catonis oratione, “qua Voconiam legem suasit,” quaeri solet, quid sit “*classicus*,” quid “*infra classem*.” Gellius was the first to use the term with the meaning of standard, normative authors (*Noctes Atticae* 19.8.15): *Ite ergo nunc et, quando forte erit otium, quaerite, an “quadrigam” et “harenas” dixerit e cohorte illa dumtaxat antiquiore uel oratorum aliquis uel poetarum, id est classicus adsiduusque aliquis scriptor, non proletarius.*²

According to the medievalist’s definition, Latin classics are texts that are written in Latin, have literary value, date from antiquity, and represent pagan—that is, Graeco-

¹ Lanham (2002: x). See Bieler (1949: 98–104); Steinen (1957: 1–27); Strecker (1957: 126–31); Plezia (1967: 29–40); Lanham (1975b: 46–59); Pulgram (1978: 284–309, 285–6); Sheerin (1987: 51–67); Hexter (1987: 69–92); Gelumbeckaite (1999: 375–80); Deléani (2002: 3–25); White (2002: 131–43).

² See Luck (1958: 150–8); Toppani (1991: 155–67). See also Michel (1993: 17–28).

Roman—religion.³ Another definition also suggests that the term ‘classics’ should be used with caution, in order to avoid anachronism in a medieval setting, because classical and post-classical authors, including Martianus Capella, Boethius and Priscian, were similarly considered *auctores* in the Middle Ages.⁴ In situating classical texts as a separate group, one should be aware that the term ‘classics’ did not exist in the Middle Ages. Since the concept did exist, however, they constituted a separate category in the Middle Ages; this is what justifies their established separate treatment in modern classical and medieval scholarship, eminently in medieval Latin philology.⁵

The findings of the scholarship on the classical tradition in well-documented territories, such as the Christian approach towards the pagan authors and the liberal arts, the use of Latin classics in cathedral and monastic schools, and their presence in medieval libraries, rely on rich source materials, including commentaries on classical authors, grammatical works, textbooks, library catalogs, and other types of literary evidence such as *florilegia*. Western trends influenced the formation of Latin literacy and library culture in Central Europe, but Western scholarship on the classical tradition had little effect on the research on matters Central European.⁶

As regards its geographical and chronological scope, the choice of subject of the present study requires explanation as well: how does the study of the Latin classics contribute to a better understanding of the formation of Latin literacy in eleventh-century Hungary, and how does this specific case relate to the research on the classical tradition in the Middle Ages?⁷ Until recently, the lack of a systematic combination of classical philology and medieval studies resulted in the regrettable fact that the classical tradition in itself never became an appealing subject in scholarship on medieval Hungary. Primarily because of the sparse and fragmentary evidence, a systematic focus on the Latin classics prevailed only in studies that dealt with the period starting with renaissance humanism. Although the medieval period received only occasional attention in this regard, recent pioneering studies show that an inquiry of this kind is meaningful.⁸ In order to bridge this gap, given the lack of major groundbreaking studies of the sort, one must start the systematic inquiry with the very beginnings of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary: the eleventh century. The fragmentary evidence presents the

³ Mostert (1996: 23–4). See also Mostert (1991: 139–40).

⁴ Ziolkowski (2000: 81–2). See also Levin (1969: 1–9).

⁵ See Gabotto (1891); Taylor (1901: 44–56); Clark (1921–1922: 13–7); Lehmann (1934: 209–28); Sweeney (1968: 339–44); Bischoff (1971: 83–94); Bischoff (1975: 59–86); Hunt (1975); Munk Olsen (1984–1985: 169–81); Scaglione (1990: 343–62); Munk Olsen (1990: 343–62); Villa (1992: 479–522); Leonardi (1994: 11–27); Schmidt (1995: 3–21); Buonocore (1996); Ziolkowski (1997: 297–322).

⁶ See Hlaváček (1983: 701–37); Csapodi (1984a: 332–57); Adamska (1999: 165–90); Adamska (2000: 83–100); Hunyadi (2000: 105–13); Adamska (2002: 1–15).

⁷ See McGuire and Dressler (1977: 173–91, 227–31); Stotz (2002: 118–9, 231–4).

⁸ See Madas (2001: 119–32).

biggest challenge, because the majority of the manuscripts extant in eleventh-century Hungary are now lost.⁹

However, the study of the Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary can be organized on the basis of four extant sources of extraordinary importance: a letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs about a copy of Priscian's grammar to be sent from France to Hungary, the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary, the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád, and the book list of the monastery of Pannonhalma. All of these four sources have been studied, but none of those studies has addressed them as the first sources of the classical tradition in medieval Hungary. The basic criterion of their selection is of course arbitrary: although isolated from each other, they are connected by the artificial coherence of their value in carrying information on the role of the Latin classics. This common feature is also characteristic of further products of Latin literacy in eleventh-century Hungary: charters, law codes, historical and hagiographic accounts, and liturgical texts. One must limit the scope of study, however, and these latter types of sources are excluded from the systematic analysis, because they represent genres to be investigated separately in their full process of development. Bishop Fulbert's letter, the *Admonitions*, the *Deliberatio* and the Pannonhalma book list, however, are the first major instances of their respective genres that provide information on the different channels through which classical learning left an impact on the formation of Latin literacy. These four sources serve as points of departure for the four chapters of the present study. They also correspond to the two basic approaches to the study of Roman antiquity in the Middle Ages: while Fulbert's letter and the Pannonhalma book list provide information on the manuscript evidence, the *Admonitions* and the *Deliberatio* demonstrate how literate persons reflected on matters related to antiquity.¹⁰

Chapter One (The Cathedral School) examines the significance of Priscian's Latin grammar, Fulbert's and Bonipert's background, and the grammatical holdings of contemporary cathedral libraries, in order to gain an insight into the study of Latin at the cathedral school of Pécs. Chapter Two (The *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary) examines the Biblical Latin background and the Carolingian antecedents of the mirror of princes, in order to provide a background for establishing what can be considered the classical influence in the author's use of the organic metaphor in the representation of the bishops, and the medieval idea of Rome; the chapter provides textual parallels to classical, patristic and medieval works as well. Chapter Three (The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád) elaborates on the author's patristic sources, but its main focus is on his approach to the seven liberal arts and ancient rhetoric, as well as his Latinity, through a lexical and stylistic analysis of Book One

⁹ Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1994: 9–21).

¹⁰ See Mortensen (1992: 100).

and his use of the literary convention of a fictive audience; this chapter also provides textual parallels to classical, patristic and medieval works. Chapter Four (The Monastic School) examines the role of the classical items in the book list of the monastery of Pannonhalma as school authors from the late antique grammarians to Carolingian and medieval authors, as well as the classical holdings of monastic libraries, in order to establish the function of the classics in monastic education.

The purpose of the inquiry into these sources is definitely not to prove that classical studies of any sort started in Hungary after its conversion to Christianity, because the scattered pieces of evidence do not support such overinterpretation. Attributing more impact to the Latin classics than they actually exerted would indeed be overestimating the classical background of these sources. Attributing less classical background to these sources than they actually had, however, would be underestimating the impact of the Latin classics. One must record and interpret their influence in the context of the classical tradition in the Middle Ages. This requires an exploration of the complex system of filters through which classical Latin influenced the earliest pieces of literacy in medieval Hungary. If the valuable methods of both classical philology and medieval studies are combined properly, these sources can reveal a great deal more about the beginnings of the reception of the Latin classics in medieval Hungary than they have hitherto revealed.¹¹

Occasionally providing critical evaluations and challenging previous scholarship, this study is seriously indebted to the work of others, especially the critical editions of the relevant texts. These accomplishments are appropriately credited by quoting the famous metaphor of John of Salisbury: *Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora uidere, non utique proprii uisus, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subuehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea*.¹² The author wishes to acknowledge the support and resources of the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University, the Department of Latin at the University of Budapest, the Department of Classics at Rutgers University, and the Erasmus Institute at the University of Notre Dame.

¹¹ See Nemerikényi (2000a: 37–58); Nemerikényi (2003b: 243–56).

¹² John of Salisbury, “Metalogicon,” *CCCM* 98, 116.

CHAPTER ONE

The Cathedral School

Around 1023, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres composed a letter to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs informing him that he was sending one of his copies of Priscian from France to Hungary. The text of the entire letter is as follows: *Sancto ac uenerabili coepiscopo suo Boniperto Fulbertus fidelitatis obsequium et summi pastoris benedictionem. Primum quidem benedicimus Deum Patrem ingenitum, filiumque suum unigenitum Ihesum Christum dominum nostrum, et Spiritum sanctum paraclitum, unum uerum Deum qui cuncta creauit, qui te quoque, dilectissime pater, multa sapientia inlustrauit ad docendum populum suum, et decore sanctitatis ad prebendum bonae uitae exemplum ornaui. Deinde magnas tibi referimus grates, quod nos licet inmeritos atque ignotos salutacionis tuae pariterque munere gratiae dignatus es peruenire. Unde profecto nos in amorem tuum sic animasti, ut perhennem tui memoriam in intimo cordis nostri uigere uelimus, ut saltem per crebra oracionum suffragia, si aliter facultas non suppecierit, tuae benignitati uicem rependere satagamus. Significauit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus tuae caritatis erga nos insignia fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle, quem et per eundem libenter mittimus, quicquid etiam de nostro pecieris hilarissime tibi (si possibile fuerit) transmissuri, ipsam quoque presenciam nostram, si tibi opus esset ac uoluntas, nobisque potestas, obsequentissime prestaturi. Ad ultimum saluere te semper obtamus, precantes ut illam nouam ac gloriosam adoptionis prolem, regem uidelicet Stephanum, ex nostri parte salutes, intimans excellentiae suae ex nostra parte et uniuersarum congregacionum quae sunt in episcopatu nostro, canonicorum scilicet ac monachorum, oracionum fidelia.* Bishop Fulbert's letter survives in at least five manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Leiden, Vossianus Latinus Q. 12 (first half of the eleventh century); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 14167 (middle of the eleventh century); Durham Cathedral, MS. B. II. 11 (between 1081 and 1096); Hereford Cathedral, MS. P. ii. 15 (twelfth century); and Vatican, Reginensis Latinus 278 (twelfth century). The letter has been published in many editions—most of them, however, used the Vatican manuscript only.¹³

¹³ Wilmart (1945: 80–4); Potthast (1976: 598–600). See Katona (1779: 158–9); Koller (1782: 12–4); György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 1 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829), 287–8; Fulbert of Chartres, “Epistola ad archiepiscopum Bonipertum,” *PL* 141, 189–90; Léopold Delisle, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 10 (Paris: Palme, 1874), 443; *CFHH* 2, 962; Frederick Behrends, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 148; *DHA* 1, 103–4. See also Thompson (1967: 236); Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi

Although this Priscian manuscript is now lost, departing from this evidence, one might explore what kind of role a Priscian manuscript played in a cathedral school setting in the eleventh century and what Fulbert's letter implies in terms of teaching and learning Latin in a recently Christianized country. Priscian, the author mentioned in Fulbert's letter, was born in Caesarea in Mauretania and became schoolmaster of grammar in Constantinople in the early sixth century.¹⁴ The manuscript tradition of his grammatical works shows that they played a major role in the medieval curriculum of Latin grammar.¹⁵ The most important grammars used in the Middle Ages were the comprehensive works of Donatus and the more advanced ones of Priscian. Both set up their grammars according to the standards of classical authors and thus they served as important mediators of the Latin classics—even though Priscian himself was a Christian, nobody seemed to have known or cared about it, and he has always been counted among the pagan classics.¹⁶ It is significant that Dante places Donatus in *Paradiso* (12.137) but Priscian in *Inferno* (15.109).¹⁷

Bishop Fulbert mentions *unum de nostris Priscianis*, where *unum* could refer to *codicem*, *librum*, *uolumen*, or simply *Priscianum*. The work is otherwise unspecified in Fulbert's letter. The question is which of Priscian's works it was that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for. Was it something to be specified by the messenger, Hilduin? Was it a codex containing more than one work by Priscian? The most frequently used work of Priscian was the *Institutiones grammaticae*.¹⁸ Originally, it was meant to be a Latin grammar based on Greek grammatical authorities in order to help Byzantine Greeks to learn Latin as a foreign language.¹⁹ According to its editor, the work was so frequently copied in the Middle Ages, often in separate codices, that it was absent in no *bibliotheca* and could be commented by *magistellis scholasticis*. The editor of Priscian's text also wrote the following: *pro certo equidem affirmarim, in uniuersis Europae librariis Institutionum Grammaticarum ad mille codices seruari*. This sentence has misled generations of literary historians, classicists as well as medievalists.²⁰ The editor's estimation later proved to be a gross exaggeration concerning the manuscript tradition of Priscian's grammar: taking into account all the known fragments and manuscripts copied until the end of the fourteenth century, the most reliable results vary between

(1994: 15); Gyula Kristó, ed., *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai* (The written sources of the time of the foundation of the state) (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1999), 102–4.

¹⁴ See Salamon (1979: 91–6); Ballaira (1989); Conti Bizzarro (1994: 35–49).

¹⁵ See Passalacqua (1978); Bursill-Hall (1981); Hofman (1998: 128–31).

¹⁶ See Dekkers and Gaar (1995: 504–6).

¹⁷ See Kneepkens (1974: 258–68).

¹⁸ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2–3.

¹⁹ See Wright (2002a: 3–17); Wright (2002b: 70–84).

²⁰ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, xiii. See Langosch (1963: 51); Dihle (1989: 451).

three hundred and eight hundred Priscian manuscripts.²¹

The majority of them were copied between the ninth and the eleventh century. While the surviving manuscripts of the *Ars grammatica* of Donatus, consisting of the *Ars minor* and the *Ars maior*, total around seven hundred, Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* survives in sixteen Carolingian codices that contain the complete work with all its eighteen books. The grammar thereafter was copied in separate parts. From the eleventh century, the first sixteen books were called *Priscianus maior* (*De octo partibus*): Books One to Seven treated the *nomen*, Eight to Ten the *uerbum*, Eleven the *participium*, Twelve and Thirteen the *pronomen*, Fourteen the *praepositio*, Fifteen the *aduerbium* and the *interiectio*, and Sixteen the *coniunctio*. The seventeenth and eighteenth books were called *Priscianus minor* (*De constructione*). The *Accessus Prisciani* described it in the *Accessus ad auctores* thus: *Licet diuersa sunt uolumina, scilicet maior Priscianus de uiiii partibus et minor constructionum, tamen unus liber reputatur, quemadmodum liber Psalmorum licet diuersi reputantur, secundum assertionem quorundam sanctorum tamen unus liber reputatur, quemadmodum in auctoribus, scilicet in Ouidio Metamorphoseon et in Lucano, licet diuersi sunt libri, tamen pro uno reputantur. Sic etiam est de Prisciano, quod inde conicitur, quod idem sit iste cum premissis, quia ipse asserit in principio operis sui se tractaturum in xiiii libro de constructione siue ordinatione dictionum... Grammatica autem dicitur quasi literalis scientia, id est scientia tradita de literis. Ars autem ista utilis ualde est et nulla potest sciri absque ista et magis necessaria est quam dialectica, quemadmodum aqua magis necessaria est quam balsamum.*²²

Among the surviving manuscripts, around one hundred were copied before or at the beginning of the eleventh century.²³ In theory, therefore, one of them might have been the Priscian mentioned in Fulbert's letter. Provided that the datings of the manuscripts are correct, two manuscripts could be subject to further investigation because of their Chartres provenance: Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, AA. 90. fasc. 22 (early ninth century) and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14272 (the codex of Hartvic of Saint Emmeram from the early eleventh century).

Priscian's reputation was so strong in the Middle Ages that his grammatical activity was recorded even in historical accounts such as those of Paul the Deacon (*Tunc quoque apud Constantinopolim Priscianus Caesariensis grammaticae artis, ut ita dixerim profunda rimatus est*, quoted by Regino of Prüm), Haymo of Fleury (*Priscianus Caesariensis in arte grammatica, Arator in exarandis apostolorum actibus arte metrica, claruerunt*), Bernold of Constance (*His temporibus beatus abbas Benedictus immensa uirtutum gloria claruit. Priscianus quoque grammaticus his fuit temporibus*) and Otto

²¹ See Fritz (1908: 83–4); Büttenwieser (1942: 53); Huygens (1953: 479); Meyer (1954); Holtz (1977a: 247–69); Bursill-Hall (1981).

²² R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 42–3. See Baebler (1885: 28–66); Kneepkens (1995: 239–64).

²³ See Gibson (1972: 105–24); Cervani (1984: 397–421). See also Thurot (1869: passim).

of Freising (*Priscianus Cesariensis gramaticae artis libros ad Iulianum consulem et patricium profusos, sed necessarios officioso opere edidit*).²⁴

More importantly, Priscian has always been praised for his relatively precise citations. The number of his classical Latin quotations totals around ten thousand; thus his contribution to the indirect transmission of the Latin classics is considerable. He refers to virtually all the authors of ancient Roman literature.²⁵ Priscian's reputation as a major mediator of classical antiquity was obvious in the Middle Ages. As Notker Balbulus put it, *Caeterum, si et gentilium auctores nosse desideras, Priscianum lege...*²⁶ After quoting Vergil (*Aeneis* 8.77: *corniger hesperidum fluiuius regnator aquarum*), Gunzo of Novara immediately refers to Priscian's *De constructione*: *Virgilius tamen inquit: "Corniger Hesperidum fluiuius regnator aquarum" pro fluuiio. Si quis autem hoc pleniter scire desiderat, libros Prisciani de constructione legat...*²⁷ Indeed, this quotation from Vergil appears many times in Priscian's works.²⁸

Based on the Latin classics, with an abundance of quotations to exemplify and clarify grammatical details, Priscian's grammar disseminated an indirect knowledge of the ancient Roman authors in the Middle Ages. As an expert of the influence of the seven liberal arts on medieval culture formulated it a century ago, "These numerous quotations must have made it also a valuable anthology. To what extent are the learned quotations in which mediaeval writers abound copied from Priscian instead of from the originals?"²⁹ Consequently, the role of Priscian's grammar in medieval schooling can be better understood against the background of ancient Roman literature. Its high level meant that it was a lot more than mere elementary Latin instruction or *Schulgrammatik*—it "provided so detailed a description of Latin forms that all but the most confident would drown in it."³⁰

The medieval popularity of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* is also attested by its excerpts. Already Cassiodorus' *De orthographia*, a compilation of ancient grammatical works, is partly based on Priscian: *Ex Prisciano grammatico qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli doctor fuit, de libro primo ipsius ista collecta sunt*.³¹ Alcuin

²⁴ Paul the Deacon, "Historia Romana," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 2, 396; Regino of Prüm, "Chronicon," *PL* 132, 26; Haymo of Fleury, "Historia Francorum," *PL* 139, 698; Bernold of Constance, "Chronicon," *MGH: Scriptores* 5, 412; Otto of Freising, "Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 45, 235.

²⁵ See Froehde (1895: 279–88); Jeep (1908–1909: 12–51, 1–51); Craig (1930: 65–73); Curtius (1947: 9); Donovan (1961: 75–80); Buck (1963: 219, 221); Perl (1967: 283–8); Polara (1994: 187–201); Swiggers (1995: 159–95); Law (1997a: 6–11); Vainio (2000: 30–48).

²⁶ Notker Balbulus, "De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum," *PL* 131, 1004.

²⁷ Gunzo of Novara, "Epistola ad Augienses fratres," *PL* 136, 1287.

²⁸ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 305, *GL* 3, 202, 208; Priscian, "Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium," *GL* 3, 487, 511.

²⁹ Abelson (1906: 39).

³⁰ Law (1997b: 131).

³¹ Cassiodorus, "De orthographia," *GL* 7, 207–9.

commemorated Priscian's grammar in his praise of the rich classical holdings of the York cathedral library: *Illic inuenies ueterum uestigia Patrum,/ Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe/ Graecia uel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis/ .../ Historici ueteres Pompeius, Plinius, ipse/ Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens./ .../ Quod Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et Auctor:/ Artis grammaticae uel quid scripserit magistri;/ Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusue,/ Seruius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.*³² Alcuin also called him *Priscianus Latinae eloquentiae decus*. However, his excerpts from Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* did not become a standard textbook in the Middle Ages: only a couple of its manuscripts survive.³³ The *Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani*, attributed to Hrabanus Maurus in the manuscripts and the old library catalogs of the monastery of Fulda, was more popular.³⁴

It has long been an established fact in the historiography of medieval grammar that commentaries on both major authors, Donatus and Priscian, were at least as important as the major works themselves.³⁵ The Carolingian commentaries on Priscian represent a significant branch of this tradition, but these sophisticated treatises addressed a narrow circle of learned scholars instead of aiming to meet the pedagogical needs of schoolmasters.³⁶ The most important of them were the *In Priscianum* by Sedulius Scottus³⁷ and the *Expositio super Priscianum* by Remigius of Auxerre.³⁸ These works paved the way for the extensive early scholastic commentaries on Priscian, including those by Petrus Helias and Ralph of Beauvais.³⁹ The so-called *Sacerdos ad altare*, a list of textbooks from the end of the twelfth century, strongly recommends the use of grammars, especially Priscian: *Gramatice daturus operam audiat et legat barbarissimum Donati et Prisciani maius uolumen cum libro construcionum... et Remigium et Priscianum de metris et de ponderibus et duodecim uersibus Virgilii et Priscianum de accentibus, quem tamen multi negant editum esse a Prisciano, inspiciat diligenter.*⁴⁰ The number of the manuscripts of scholastic commentaries on Priscian, such as those by Robert Kilwardby, Boethius of Dacia (*Modi significandi siue quaestiones super Priscianum maiorem*) and Petrus Hispanus (*Summa on Priscianus minor*), already surpasses that of the manuscripts of the works by Priscian himself. From the thirteenth

³² Alcuin, "Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis," *PL* 101, 843–4.

³³ Alcuin, "Grammatica," *PL* 101, 873. See Schmitz (1908: 19–28, 30–1); Brown (1975: 237–93); O'Donnell (1976: 222–35); Bischoff (1994: 100); Law (1994: 95–6); Holtz (2000: 289–326).

³⁴ Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, "Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani," *PL* 111, 613–78. See Rissel (1976: 76–162); Brunhölzl (1975: 330–1).

³⁵ See Traube (1911: 98).

³⁶ See Rädle (1982: 484–500); Dutton and Luhtala (1994: 153–63); Luhtala (1996: 53–78).

³⁷ Sedulius Scottus, "In Priscianum," *CCCM* 40C, 55–84. See Law (1994: 88–110).

³⁸ See Manitius (1911: 504–19); De Marco (1952b: 495–517); Huygens (1954b: 330–44); Leonardi (1975: 459–504); Holtz (1989–1990: 163–73).

³⁹ See Hunt (1941–1943: 194–231); Jeaneau (1973: 335–70); Gibson (1979: 235–54); Gibson (1992: 17–33).

⁴⁰ Haskins (1909: 92).

century, the dominant role of Priscian was taken over by new treatises: the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu and the *Grecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune. Finally, the *editio princeps* of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* was printed in Venice in 1470—on the basis of a ninth-century manuscript not yet identified.⁴¹

It seems most probable that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*. Since it is not defined in the letter of Fulbert of Chartres, however, one must consider Priscian's other works as well.⁴² First of all, the *Praeexercitamina* should be taken into consideration: a short review of rhetorical practices, a translated and revised Latin version of the Greek *Progymnasmata* of Hermogenes, the second-century schoolmaster of Tarsus.⁴³ Drawing a parallel between Greek and Latin grammatical authorities, Cassiodorus had already highlighted the importance of Priscian in his *Institutiones* 2.1.1: *De quarum positionibus atque uirtutibus Graece Helenus, Latine Priscianus subtiliter tractauerunt*. Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* quotes Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil and Horace, but overall it contains a lot fewer references to the Latin classics than the *Institutiones grammaticae*. The *progymnasmata* or *praeexercitamina* constituted a separate category of school rhetoric in the Middle Ages.⁴⁴ According to a scholarly hypothesis, Bonipert may have asked for Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* because it contained rhetorical skills that could prove useful for a bishop in charge of supervising the composition of royal charters. This hypothesis was combined with a theory about Bishop Bonipert's familiarity with the Greek background of the *Progymnasmata* and his willingness to pursue missionary activity in the proximity of Byzantine territory. The latter theory, however, proves improbable on both accounts: nobody could expect a satisfactory level of Greek knowledge in a recently established cathedral community for that kind of purpose, and the conversion of pagan Hungarians in Bonipert's diocese presented a sufficient challenge in any case.⁴⁵

Another, shorter, grammatical work of Priscian's is the *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo*.⁴⁶ Remigius of Auxerre commented on this work as well, and declared the following about Priscian: *Quattuor in hoc loco requirenda sunt, locus, persona, tempus et causa scribendi. Locus Roma, persona Priscianus, tempus sub Iuliano consule, causa scribendi ad instruendos pueros. Nam post magnum suum opus hunc composuit libellum ut pueros erudiret*.⁴⁷ Priscian's shorter works also include the *Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium*.⁴⁸ Medieval library catalogs sometimes

⁴¹ See Rand (1929b: 249–69); Gibson (1977: 249–60).

⁴² See Mezey (1967: 55); Mezey (1979: 107); Vizkelety (2001a: 109); Vizkelety (2001b: 41–9).

⁴³ Priscian, "Praeexercitamina," *GL* 3, 430–40. See Luscher (1912); Weische (1978: 155–6); Passalacqua (1986: 443–8); Ward (1990: 30); Copeland (1991: 58).

⁴⁴ See Cizek (1994: 247–51).

⁴⁵ See Mezey (1967: 55). See also Györfy (1971: 295–313).

⁴⁶ Priscian, "Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo," *GL* 3, 441–56.

⁴⁷ "Remigiana," *CCCM* 171, 12–3. See Judy (1972: 73–144).

⁴⁸ Priscian, "Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium," *GL* 3, 457–515. See Glück (1967: 62–8).

refer to this work as *Priscianellus*, following the pattern of diminutive titles such as *Seruiellus* or *Seruiolus*.⁴⁹ Remigius of Auxerre commented on this work too.⁵⁰ Besides Priscian's *De figuris numerorum*⁵¹ and *De metris fabularum Terentii*,⁵² there are dubious works attributed to him, such as the *Periegesis*, which, along with the *Institutiones grammaticae* and the *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo*, figures in the ninth-century library catalog of the monastery of Lorsch: *Liber Prisciani grammatici, qui "Periegesis" nominatus est, id est descriptio orbis terrarum et maris, in duobus quaternionibus*.⁵³ Since it does not seem probable that Bishop Bonipert asked for any of these smaller works, one can provisionally conclude that the work of Priscian's mentioned in Bishop Fulbert's letter is his most detailed and most popular grammatical work, the *Institutiones grammaticae*.

The overview of the persons involved in the correspondence should start with Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, a reputed intellectual of his time.⁵⁴ Fulbert was a pupil of Gerbert of Aurillac in the cathedral school of Reims. Gerbert put a great stress on the teaching of rhetoric and developing a sufficient library. This can be inferred from one of his letters from Reims to Abbot Eberhard of Tours around 984–985: *Nam et apposite dicere ad persuadendum et animos furentium suaui oratione ab impetu retinere summa utilitas. Cui rei preparande bibliothecam assidue comparo. Et sicut Rome dudum ac in aliis partibus Italie, Germania quoque et Belgica scriptores auctorumque exemplaria multitudine nummorum redemi adiutus beniuolentia ac studio amicorum comprouincialium, sic identidem apud uos fieri ac per uos sinite ut exorem*.⁵⁵ As bishop of Chartres between 1007 and 1028, Fulbert also promoted the study of the arts. Recalling his memories, one of the alumni of the cathedral school of Chartres, Adelman of Liège, called him a Socrates in his letter to Berengar of Tours: *Conlactaneum te meum uocaui propter dulcissimum illud contubernium, quod cum te adolescentulo, ipse ego maiusculus, in academia Carnotensi sub nostro illo uenerabili Socrate iocundissime duxi, cuius de conuictu gloriari nobis dignius licet quam gloriabatur Plato, gratias agens naturae eo, quod in diebus Socratis sui hominem se non pecudem peperisset*.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Fulbert admitted in one of his letters that he was not always an accurate librarian: *Continentur quedam reuerenda nobis in priuilegiis Romanae eccle-*

⁴⁹ See Hurlbut (1933: 259); Dolbeau (1989: 79–99).

⁵⁰ See Jeudy (1971: 123–43); Contreni (1978: 60, 68, 182).

⁵¹ Priscian, "De figuris numerorum," *GL* 3, 406–17.

⁵² Priscian, "De metris fabularum Terentii," *GL* 3, 418–29.

⁵³ Häse (2002: 98, 303–6). See also Finch (1968: 165–79).

⁵⁴ See Pfister (1885); Brunel (1996: 19–26).

⁵⁵ Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 73. See Williams (1954: 661–77); Gasc (1986: 111–21).

⁵⁶ Adelman of Liège, "De eucharistiae sacramento ad Berengarium epistola," *CCCM* 171, 182. See Erdmann (1938: 39); Jauneau (1960: 3); Silvestre (1961: 855–71); Huygens (1967: 459–89); Riché (1979: 359–60); Jaeger (1987: 573–4, 603–4); Jaeger (1994: 62); Jauneau (1997: 97–8).

*siae, quae propter negligenciam nostram non facile inueniuntur in armariis nostris.*⁵⁷ His correspondence and poetry, on the other hand, also reveal his classical erudition: he makes references to Aristotle, Porphyry, Cicero, Livy and Donatus.⁵⁸ Simply on the basis of his writings, however, it is not clear whether these authors were actually part of a library collection in Chartres—and if so, whether they belonged to Fulbert's private library or to the cathedral library.

In the eleventh century, Chartres had more than one copy of Priscian, but the surviving book list does not specify which works. Manuscripts of classical Latin authors such as Terence, Horace, Vergil, Ovid and Statius also figured in the Chartres cathedral library.⁵⁹ The library of the monastery of Saint Peter in Chartres also had a copy of Priscian in Fulbert's day.⁶⁰ Although the notion of Chartrian humanism has proven a romantic misconception, the cathedral school started to emphasize the study of the liberal arts under Bishop Fulbert's direction. The readings included the works of Martianus Capella, Boethius and Cassiodorus, and the curriculum aimed at instructing the higher ranks of the diocesan clergy. It is significant that later, in the middle of the twelfth century, the archivolt of the right portal of the Western façade of the Chartres cathedral featured allegorical sculptures of the liberal arts—grammar was represented by the figure of either Donatus or Priscian.⁶¹ The special emphasis on grammar in the cathedral school of Chartres may have been one of the reasons why Bishop Bonipert of Pécs turned to his renowned colleague in Chartres. Besides, according to some speculation, Bonipert supported Fulbert with money to restore the cathedral building of Chartres after it was destroyed by fire in 1020. From the prospective of Fulbert's network of correspondence all over Europe asking for monetary contribution for the reconstruction of his cathedral, a copy of Priscian's grammar in return could not have been a major issue, no matter how expensive a codex might have been at the time.⁶²

Fulbert had close ties to Abbot Odilo of Cluny, whose biographer Jotsaldus recorded the following about the former: *Fulbertus ille sibi praecordialis amicus, Carnotensis episcopus, in sanctitate laudabilis, in sapientia mirabilis, in cuius morte studium philosophiae in Francia periit, et gloria sacerdotum pene cecidit.*⁶³ Odilo of Cluny, in turn, was in correspondence with King Stephen of Hungary later in the 1030s

⁵⁷ Behrends (see n. 13, 160). See Clerval (1895: 142).

⁵⁸ Behrends (see n. 13, 158, 224, 266). See also Behrends (1970: 253–75).

⁵⁹ See Manitius (1935: 311); Raby (1957: 309).

⁶⁰ See Merlet (1854: 265); Gustav Becker, ed. *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen, 1885), 144–5; Lesne (1938: 195–6).

⁶¹ See Clerval (1895: 108–30); Marriage and Marriage (1909: 70–3); Ghellinck (1939: 73–4); Lesne (1940: 152–73); Walsh (1942: 55–62); Raby (1953: 257–87); MacKinney (1957: 59–60); Baldwin (1959: 151–3); Dronke (1969: 117–40); Wetherbee (1973: 109–17); Southern (1995: 58–101); Riché (1996: 27–32); Luscombe (1996: 105–14); Marenbon (2000: 569–77).

⁶² See Mezey (1967: 54); Erlande-Brandenburg (1996: 123); Wellman (2002: 136).

⁶³ Jotsaldus, “De vita et virtutibus sancti Odilonis abbatis,” *PL* 142, 906. See also Ziezulewicz (1991: 383–402).

about relics to be sent to the altars of Hungarian churches.⁶⁴ The twelfth-century library catalog of Cluny reflects Fulbert's Cluniac connection: *Epistole domni Fulberti et aliud ipsius de uersibus rhythmis hymnis prosa et cantu*.⁶⁵ Although the most powerful in those days, Cluny was not the only Benedictine house on good terms with the bishop of Chartres, and the copy that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for was not the only eastward-bound Priscian manuscript that left Chartres in Bishop Fulbert's day. The provenance of an early eleventh-century manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14272) shows Fulbert's relation to the Benedictine monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg. This is a miscellaneous codex of 192 leaves that contains a glossed text of Priscian's *De constructione*, along with Cicero and other texts related to the seven liberal arts. The following inscription can be read on its fol. 1v: *Dominus Fulbertus episcopus*. The *donator* of the codex was probably Hartvic, a monk of Saint Emmeram who spent some time studying in the cathedral school of Chartres under the direction of Bishop Fulbert. When he went back to his home cloister in Regensburg, he presumably carried one of the codices of his former tutor to the monastery of Saint Emmeram as study material.⁶⁶ Since the Bavarian roots represented a constant cultural influence in eleventh-century Hungary, this Munich manuscript has a special significance also with regard to Bonipert's book request. Given the ties between Saint Emmeram and Hungary in the early eleventh century, the letter of Fulbert to Bonipert apparently provides information on a well-established type of transaction.⁶⁷ As regards Bishop Fulbert, one should finally add that Bonipert may not have been his only contact person in Hungary: philological studies have highlighted some textual parallels between Fulbert's sermons and the twelfth-century *Legenda minor* of Saint Gerard of Csanád.⁶⁸

The background of Bishop Bonipert of Pécs is a lot more difficult to establish than that of Fulbert. Of the various hypotheses, the most feasible is the one concerning his Lombard origin. The occurrence of the name Bonipert in a charter issued by Emperor Otto III in Rome in 996 supports this hypothesis: *insuper etiam capellam in honore sancti Marini constructam cum suis pertinentiis atque sortem in querceto que laboratur per Bonipertum quam Boso eidem contulit congregationi*...⁶⁹ The name Bonipert

⁶⁴ See *DHA* 1, 111. See also Pais (1923: 15–26); Galla (1931: 74–6); Galla (1938: 146–54); Hóman (1938: 139–45); David (1939a: 1–15); Csóka (1942–1943: 165); Gabriel (1944: 7–12); Székely (1960: 312–25); Engelbert (1995: 473–88).

⁶⁵ Manitius (1907: 695). See also Winter (1989–1990: 554).

⁶⁶ See Halm, Keinz, and Thomas (1876: 152–3); Bischoff (1967a: 80–1); Glauche (1978: 176–8); Fredborg (1995: 327–8). See also Lattin (1948: 205–25).

⁶⁷ See Veszprémy (1985: 137–41); Kubinyi (1988: 29–39); Szendrei (1998: 21–8); Veszprémy (2000: 193–205).

⁶⁸ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 471–9. See Jelenits (1984: 227–34); Holl (1992: 125). See also Canal (1962: 33–51); Barré (1964: 324–30); Fassler (2000: 389–434).

⁶⁹ Theodor von Sickel, ed., *MGH: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 2.2, *Ottonis III. diplomata* (Hanover: Hahn, 1893), 608–9.

also occurs in numerous charters from Italy from the tenth and eleventh centuries – Arezzo (933): *quae laboratur per Bonipertum liberum hominem*, Perugia (938–939): *quae laboratur per Bonipertum liberum hominem*, Verona (969): *Teudibertus et Bonipertus praesbiteris et monachis de eodem monasterio sancti Zenonis*, Verona (972): *Pedreuertus et Iohannes et Bonipertus presbiteris*, Vicenza (1013): *Ego Bonuertus presbiter manu mea subscripsi*, and Arezzo (1016): *in Querceto, que laboratur per Bonipertum liberum hominem*.⁷⁰ An earlier document from Merovingian France (680), however, also contains the name Bonipert: *Ego Bonibertus episcopus subscripsi*.⁷¹ There were different channels of influence on the ecclesiastical structure of Hungary in the early eleventh century, but the possible Italian background of Bonipert would confirm an important Italian link.⁷²

Besides Bonipert's origin, there is another equally important set of questions about his career. Was he a Benedictine monk, as were many other missionaries around King Stephen, before he came to Hungary? If so, did he have Cluniac relations? Did he know Fulbert of Chartres personally? (The personal tone of Fulbert's letter proves nothing in this regard, given the stylistic patterns of medieval Latin epistolography.)⁷³ Did Bonipert know the Chartres cathedral library or Fulbert's private library? Since Fulbert seems to be responding to a precise request (*unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle*), he probably did. On the other hand, however, it does not require the personal experience of an eleventh-century bishop to infer that a well-equipped cathedral library has at least one copy of Priscian. And more importantly, did his book request aim at the needs of his cathedral school in instructing the arts of the *trivium*, or was it simply a personal request?

The identity of Hilduin, the messenger between Chartres and Pécs mentioned in Fulbert's letter (*Significauit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus tuae caritatis erga nos insignia fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle, quem et per eundem libenter mittimus*), has not been established. The Frankish origin of his name suggests that he was a Frenchman, but he could have been a priest of Bonipert and a canon at the Pécs cathedral just as easily as he could have been a priest of Fulbert and a canon at Chartres cathedral. An intimate expression in a letter addressed to Fulbert indicates that a certain Hilduin once belonged to the Chartres cathedral community or Fulbert's circle: *Salutate, precor, uice mea domnum meum Sigonem et Hil-*

⁷⁰ Andrea Gloria, ed., *Codice diplomatico padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto l'undecimo*, vol. 1 (Venice: Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1877), 77, 125; Luigi Schiaparelli, ed., *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1924), 100, 148; Cesare Manaresi, ed., *I placiti del «Regnum Italiae»*, vol. 2.1 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957), 118–9; Cesare Manaresi, ed., *I placiti del «Regnum Italiae»*, vol. 2.2 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1958), 575.

⁷¹ "Donationes ac testamenta," *PL* 88, 1201.

⁷² See Györffy (1988: 21–2); Kosztolnyik (2002: 133).

⁷³ See Lanham (1975a: 44–5).

duinum, priorem animum meum, alterum animae meae dimidium. The use of the expression *animae meae dimidium*, however, could be a mere literary convention: Horace in *Carmina* 1.3.8 referred to Vergil in the same way, and Saint Jerome also quotes the same epithet from Horace: *Et Lyricus pro amico precans: "Serues," inquit, "animae dimidium meae."* Even if these two occurrences of the name Hilduin in Fulbert's correspondence relate to the same person, this evidence does not exclude the possibility of Hilduin being a canon first in Chartres and later in Pécs.⁷⁴ Furthermore, a Chartres manuscript from Fulbert's day, containing a *computus*, a *martyrologium* and a *necrologium*, provides additional information. Its *Necrologium ecclesiae beatae Mariae Carnotensis* records the death of three persons in the cathedral community—all of them called Hilduin: *Obiit Hilduinus, alme Marie canonicus, custos scrinii sacre uestis et totius ecclesiae ornamenti, rei familiaris seruator fidelis et distributor dapsilis... Obiit Hilduinus, Ragenoldi uicedomini filius, subdiaconus et canonicus misericordissime Dei genitricis Mariae... Obiit Hilduinus clericus, Gauscelini filius, et canonicus almae Mariae...*⁷⁵ Even if none of them was the person mentioned in Fulbert's letter, this evidence further proves the possibility that Hilduin belonged to Fulbert's circle. In this case, the triangle of Fulbert, Hilduin and Bonipert would support the hypothesis of Bonipert's French origin.

Bonipert was the first bishop of Pécs, between 1009 and 1036. The foundation charter of the bishopric of Pécs, issued by King Stephen of Hungary in 1009, records the following: *erectionem episcopatus, qui uocabitur Quinqueecclesiensis, statuimus in honorem dei, et omnium sanctorum, Boniperto ibi episcopo facto, priuilegys terminisque ordinauimus, et confirmauimus*. (The cathedral of Pécs was dedicated to Saint Peter.) The foundation charter of the Benedictine abbey of Zalavár, also issued by King Stephen in 1019, reports that the two witnesses to the consecration of the new church of the monastery were Bishop Modestus of Győr and Bishop Bonipert of Pécs: *a duobus episcopis, scilicet Modesto et Boniperto...*⁷⁶ (The Annals of Pozsony later recorded the death of a bishop called Modestus in 1046: *Interficiuntur episcopi Gerardus et Modestus...*)⁷⁷ József Koller, himself a canon of the cathedral chapter of Pécs, dedicated a detailed study to the time of Bonipert and also quoted Fulbert's letter from the Vatican manuscript.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, it is still not clear if Bonipert played a role in the reception of the Venetian monk, Gerard, in Hungary. The fourteenth-century *Le-*

⁷⁴ Behrends (see n. 13, 190); Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," *CCSL* 76, 510. See Clerval (1895: 63).

⁷⁵ René Merlet and Alexandre Clerval, ed., *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 157, 179, 183.

⁷⁶ *DHA* 1, 54–8, 86–92. See also Erdélyi (1902: 488–500); Szentpétery (1918: 48); Imre Szentpétery, ed., *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 1, *Diplomata regum Hungariae ab anno MI. usque ad annum MCCLXX. complectens* (Budapest: MTA, 1923), 3; Györfy (1977: 190).

⁷⁷ "Annales Posenienses," *SRH* 1, 125.

⁷⁸ Koller (1782: 13–4).

genda maior of Saint Gerard states that the second bishop of Pécs, Maurus, welcomed him upon his arrival in Hungary.⁷⁹ Gerard, however, arrived in Hungary in 1015 and was appointed bishop of Csanád in 1030. None of the sixteen years in between could witness Maurus as bishop of Pécs, because he was appointed to that rank in 1036 only. If so, the author of the legend of Saint Gerard was wrong, and it was Bishop Bonipert who received Gerard in Hungary and later introduced him to King Stephen.⁸⁰

Some of the editors of Fulbert's letter to Bonipert argue that the address reads *archiepiscopo* and this leads to the question of Bonipert's alleged chancellorship, because his archiepiscopal role would have meant that he was chancellor of King Stephen. Two circumstances support this hypothesis. First, there is Fulbert's greeting to King Stephen in the closing words of his letter: *Ad ultimum saluere te semper obtamus, precantes ut illam nouam ac gloriosam adoptionis prolem summi regis, regem uidelicet Stephanum, ex nostri parte salutes, intimans excellenciae suae ex nostra parte et uniuersarum congregacionum quae sunt in episcopatu nostro, canonicorum scilicet ac monachorum, oracionum fidelia*.⁸¹ Second, the archiepiscopal rank of Bonipert would explain why he asked for a copy of Priscian: as archbishop and chancellor, he would have been in charge of supervising and issuing royal charters, which required a proper command of Latin. Based on these two circumstances, Jean Mabillon and the Bollandists suggested that Bonipert was not only archbishop but also *capellanus* or *sacellanus*, that is, court priest of King Stephen. This would also imply that Bonipert or Hilduin were involved in the preparation of the first royal law code of King Stephen.⁸² These arguments fail on the following points. First, the contemporary German model, namely, the establishment of the court of Emperor Henry II in the early eleventh century with its system of *Kapellan-Bischöfe* and *Kanoniker-Kapellane*, does not fit into this hypothesis. Second, they simply fail to recognize that the archbishop of Esztergom was Anastasius at that time. Third, a chancellor is not supposed to turn to a foreign colleague to have the proper manuals for composing charters—be it Priscian's grammar or anything else. Fourth, Priscian's grammar is simply not designed for the composition of charters.⁸³

The Annals of Pozsony, written from 997 to 1203, contain two entries of importance regarding Bonipert's career. At the year 1036 the following is noted: *Maurus episcopus est factus*. At 1042 there is this: *Bompertus episcopus obiit*. The juxtaposition of these two entries suggests that Bishop Bonipert resigned six years before his

⁷⁹ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 485–6.

⁸⁰ See Karácsonyi (1925: 49–50, 55–6, 165); Erdélyi (1936: 253–78); Kühár (1937: 58–62); Gállos (1975: 9).

⁸¹ Behrends (see n. 13, 148). See also Behrends (1963: 93–9).

⁸² Mabillon (1739: 133); Stillingus (1868: 522–3).

⁸³ See Ortway (1890: 22–3); Györfy (1969: 79–113); Györfy (1984: 88–96); Jónás (1997: 263–72); Thorockay (1999: 129–42); Török (2001: 455–66). See also Fleckenstein (1966: 216–8).

death.⁸⁴ In 1774, the Jesuit historian György Pray, who discovered the codex containing the Annals of Pozsony, noticed the contradiction between the two entries of 1036 and 1042. Due to the lack of other relevant evidence, scholars have accepted Pray's hypothesis: Bonipert resigned from his episcopal seat in 1036, six years before his death.⁸⁵ If the hypothesis of Bonipert's Lombard or French origin is to be accepted, he was possibly put aside due to political reasons by the German supporters and especially the Bavarian escort of Queen Gisela, sister of Emperor Henry II and widow of King Stephen, because their influence may have surpassed that of the Italian and French *Latini* in Hungary.⁸⁶ Since Bonipert's death is recorded in the Annals of Pozsony, however, it seems probable that he stayed in the country after his resignation. In any case, his successor in the episcopal seat was Maurus, second bishop of Pécs, between 1036 and 1070. As Maurus himself reported, he had previously been a monk in the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma: *Ego quidem Maurus nunc Deo miserante episcopus, tunc autem puer scolasticus uirum bonum uidi, sed que esset eius conuersatio, non uisu, sed auditu percepi. Ad nostrum ergo monasterium in honorem beati pontificis Martini consecratum cum iam dictus monachus Benedictus sepe uenisset, mihi hec, que sequuntur, de eius uita uenerabili narrauit.*⁸⁷ The possibility that the Annals of Pozsony were composed by Benedictines and the fact that the Annals mention both Maurus and Bonipert could together furnish a reference to Bonipert's possible Benedictine past.

After the foundation of the bishopric of Pécs in 1009, Bonipert arranged for the construction of the cathedral—the foundations of the present-day building were constructed in his time. He must also have established the cathedral school relatively early.⁸⁸ The *scriptorium*, if there was any, was probably busy copying liturgical codices in the early period, since providing the liturgy was one of the most important purposes of a recently established cathedral. On the other hand, the beginning of the cathedral's activity of issuing public charters as a place of authentication can be dated only to 1214.⁸⁹ Before that, the duties of the cathedral as an institution already included the recruitment and instruction of priests and canons, and the curriculum required at least an introduction to the arts of the *triuium*.⁹⁰ As was the case everywhere, this enterprise required a school as well as a library.⁹¹ The lack of proper textbooks compelled the bishop to import study material from abroad. Since a significant local traffic of books

⁸⁴ "Annales Posenienses," *SRH* 1, 125. See Holub (1938: 362); Madzsar (1939: 131–2); Holub (1959: 97–101). See also Bartoniek (1940: 1–5); Strittmatter (1963: 491–6); Radó (1973: 40–76).

⁸⁵ Pray (1774: 91); Pray (1776: 242); Wattenbach (1870: 502); Horváth (1981: 11–51).

⁸⁶ See Bak (1993b: 14–6); Kristó (2000: 61–4).

⁸⁷ Maurus, "Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti," *SRH* 2, 357–8.

⁸⁸ See Békefi (1910: 132–3, 253).

⁸⁹ See Koszta (1998).

⁹⁰ See Pásztor (1962: 71–9); Koszta (1999a: 478–91).

⁹¹ See Maître (1866: 96–139); Bischoff (1972a: 385–415); Ehlers (1996: 29–52).

between Hungarian cathedrals and monasteries at that early stage cannot be assumed, a local codex-copying activity may have started on the basis of foreign *exemplaria*, either borrowings or donations imported by cathedral and monastic schools from abroad.⁹² Partly this is why Bonipert turned to Fulbert of Chartres for a Priscian manuscript. Nevertheless, there was a scholarly attempt at proving that Bonipert only asked for a copy of Priscian in order to compare Fulbert's copy to other copies that were already available at the Pécs cathedral library. According to this hypothesis, Bonipert simply wanted to check his manuscripts against other ones.⁹³ Relevant scholarship, however, has still not reached a consensus about the Priscian manuscript being a borrowing, a kind of a medieval interlibrary loan, or a donation.⁹⁴ Preoccupied with copying liturgical books, the scribes at Pécs could not have afforded such luxury as to copy a Priscian manuscript, and this is why Bonipert had to turn to Fulbert with his book request. It seems therefore more feasible that this Latin grammar was a donation from Fulbert to Bonipert, who, as a bishop, was responsible for the book provision of his cathedral. The episcopal book provision was also an important concern of royal legislation—the first chapter of the second law code of King Stephen decreed the following: *Vestimenta uero et coopertoria rex preuideat, presbiterum et libros episcopi*. The royal order first of all referred to the liturgical books of the churches, but it was certainly also the bishop's responsibility to provide the cathedral community with textbooks.⁹⁵

The need for such an advanced grammar as that of Priscian suggests that there were at least elementary Latin grammars in the Pécs cathedral school and library. Fulbert's Priscian, if it arrived, was obviously not the only or the first book of its type at Pécs in Bishop Bonipert's time. Using Priscian, or even Donatus, to improve grammatical skills already requires an advanced command of Latin. In general, teachers and schoolmasters wrote their own elementary grammars for the beginners, if the students were not already *litterati*. (The concepts of *litteratus* – *clericus* and *illitteratus* – *laicus* – *idiota* already existed in the West by that time.)⁹⁶ Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* was not designed for beginners—it has been characterized by an eminent scholar

⁹² See Csapodi (1985: 19).

⁹³ Mészáros (1981: 32). See also Mészáros (1961: 371–98).

⁹⁴ See Mezey (1963: 46); Csapodi (1987: 11–2).

⁹⁵ György Györffy and Emma Bartoniek, ed., *Szent István törvényeinek XII. századi kézírata az Admonti kódexben (Hasonmás kiadás)* (The twelfth-century manuscript of the laws of Saint Stephen in the Admont codex: facsimile edition) (Budapest: Helikon, 1988), 66; János M. Bak, György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1, 1000–1301 (Idyllwild, CA: Schlacks, 1999), 9. See also Györffy (1977: 186–7).

⁹⁶ See Bischoff (1938: 9–20); Grundmann (1958: 1–65); Riché (1962b: 175–82); Mezey (1968: 29–46); Dowiat (1973: 7–22); Bäuml (1980: 237–49); Vessey (1992: 139–60); Clanchy (1993: 224–30); Law (1995: 239–61); Wendehorst (1996: 57–88); Briggs (2000: 397–420).

of medieval grammars as “a university-level grammar if ever there was one.”⁹⁷ Bishop Bonipert could have had students already with an advanced command of Latin who needed further training, preparation for and instruction in grammar in particular and the liberal arts in general.

The cultural level of the Pécs cathedral school is extremely difficult to evaluate on the basis of a single book request. Besides, there is no direct evidence of whether Bonipert received the manuscript at all, but it is more important from the present point of view that he did need a Priscian for some reason. Since the other books that were surely present at the cathedral cannot be documented, one must consider contemporary parallels in order to situate the cathedral of Pécs in a wider context. The short account of Arnold, a Benedictine monk from the monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg, provides information on the cathedral of Esztergom. Arnold sailed down the River Danube around 1030 to Hungary and spent some time in Esztergom as a guest of Archbishop Anastasius. During his stay, Arnold composed a liturgical office in honor of Saint Emmeram and sought the approval of the Esztergom chapter for his work; the archbishop made his clerics and monks learn it by heart: *Erat quedam necessitas pro qua in Pannoniam me direxerat meus abbas... Apud quem sex ebdomadas manens, memoriae sanctissimi patroni antiphonas aliquantas cum responsoriis composui, non tam fretus ingenio quam dedito laudibus martiris animo. Has prefatus episcopus monachos et clericos suos fecit discere, et in ecclesia die ipsius natali publice celebrare... Is cum beati Emmerammi ueterem illum et uiciatum legeret librum, materiam probauit cum sententiis; sed harum seriem cum ueste reprehendit pondere rationis.*⁹⁸

There is no earlier detailed narrative source on the formation of a cathedral school in medieval Hungary than the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* of Bishop Saint Gerard, which provides a description of the establishment of the cathedral school at Csanád: *Episcopus autem erat in magna sollicitudine ex parte pauperum scholarium ac monachorum et hospitum, ad cuius domum ducebantur paruuli et tradebantur ad scholas, qui tam sollicite informabantur, ut noctes pro diebus computarentur.* This hagiographic account, however, does not reflect the circumstances of the early eleventh century and therefore cannot fully apply to the cathedral of Pécs in Bonipert's time.⁹⁹ It is significant, on the other hand, that the hagiographic sources of medieval Hungary often highlight the importance of grammar in the formative years and the activities of a saint. The *Legenda minor* of King Saint Stephen provides the following: *Hic Strigoniensi oppido natiuitatis exordium habuit, et puer adhuc scientia grammaticae artis ad*

⁹⁷ Law (1992: 28). See also Robins (1951: 69–90).

⁹⁸ Arnold of Saint Emmeram, “De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi,” *PL* 141, 994; Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1, *Ab a. 979. ad a. 1273.* (Esztergom: Horák, 1874), 42; David Hiley, ed., *Historia Sancti Emmerammi Arnoldi Vohburgensis circa 1030* (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1996), xx. See also Veszprémy (1985: 137–41); Geary (1994: 158–76).

⁹⁹ “Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” *SRH* 2, 495.

plene imbutus est. (This passage is literally the same in Hartvic's legend of Saint Stephen.) The legend of Prince Saint Emeric gives a similar account: *Puer quoque nutritus sub diligenti custodia, primo omni scientia grammaticae artis imbutus est.* The *Legenda maior* of Saint Gerard reports on the teaching activity at the cathedral of Csanád: *Quibus susceptis, eos sub manu magistri Waltheri constituit, dans eis unam domum ad hec aptam, ut eos scientiis gramatice et musice informaret.*¹⁰⁰

The perception of medieval hagiographers about the importance of grammar in eleventh-century Hungary still does not explain to what extent it was a characteristic feature of eleventh-century cathedral schools to have copies of Priscian's exhaustive Latin grammar. Nearly contemporary cathedral library catalogs prove that Priscian's grammar was essential in teaching Latin in the cathedral schools. Having a Priscian was more or less a common feature of Central and Western European cathedral libraries, but by no means automatic. The library catalog of the Cracow cathedral from 1110 lists such Latin classics as Terence, Sallust, Ovid, Persius and Statius, but no Priscian. A certain *Regule gramatice*, however, figures in the list.¹⁰¹ The late tenth-century inventory of the cathedral chapter of Freising lists the following entries of interest: *Priscianus... Priscianus minor. Donatus maior et minor...*¹⁰² The book register of the Bamberg cathedral chapter compiled around 1100 says the following: *Isti sunt libri Bambergensis aeclesiae, qui magistro G. commissi sunt: Prisciani duo...* The presence of these two copies of Priscian among such Latin classics as Vergil, Horace, Pliny and Servius attests that grammars and classical authors were treated similarly in medieval libraries or at least in their catalogs.¹⁰³ Around 1057-1064, Meinhard of Bamberg wrote a letter to his student that closely resembles Fulbert's letter to Bonipert: *Priscianum, quem rogasti, cum libello nostro de maxima propositione transmissi.*¹⁰⁴ A mid-eleventh-century library catalog of Perreçy contains the following entries of interest: *Pronostica iuliani cum catone... Donati iii... Liber prisciani de duodecim uersibus uirgilii... Liber paruulus de nominibus et uerbis...*¹⁰⁵ Going further west, there is no trace indicating that the Salisbury cathedral library had any copy of Priscian in the eleventh century.¹⁰⁶ The Worcester cathedral library, however, had one copy of the

¹⁰⁰ "Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 394; Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 407; "Legenda sancti Emerici ducis," *SRH* 2, 449; "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 494.

¹⁰¹ August Bielowski, ed., *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960), 377. See also Vetulani (1951: 489-507); Mews (2002: 93-5).

¹⁰² Günter Glauche and Hermann Knaus, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.2, *Bistum Freising – Bistum Würzburg* (Munich: Beck, 1979), 626. See also Daniel (1973: 49-50).

¹⁰³ Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.3, *Bistum Bamberg* (Munich: Beck, 1939), 340. See also Irvine (1994: 334-44).

¹⁰⁴ Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 5, *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1950), 130. See also Ferrari (2000: 107-23).

¹⁰⁵ Lejay (1896: 231-2).

¹⁰⁶ See Ker (1976: 23-49).

Priscianus maior at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁷ The chapter of Tortosa in Catalonia also possessed a copy of the *Priscianus maior* with interlinear and marginal glosses in the eleventh century with the following explicit: *Explicit liber Prisciani gramatici, doctoris Romae*.¹⁰⁸ Finally, according to a document in the Barcelona archive, the Barcelona cathedral purchased a hundred-year old codex of the *Grammatica Prisciani* from a Jew for a house and a farm in 1044.¹⁰⁹

The later presence of Priscian in medieval Hungary is also problematic. The preface of Bishop Hartvic's legend of Saint Stephen, written around 1100, starts with a dedication to King Coloman of Hungary and makes an important reference to Priscian: *Domino suo Colomanno regi precellentissimo Cartuicus episcopus officium spirituale per misericordiam dei consecutus, post istius uite terminum felix illud euge sempiternum. Incepturus opus, domine mi rex inclite, quod michi uestro regali precepto de uita beati regis Stephani potentialiter iniunxisti, diu rebellem ingenioli mei perpessus sum inscitiam ob hoc presertim, Priscianus auctor artis grammaticae, medullitus mihi notus olim, longe digressus, faciem suam quasi caligine quadam circumfluam mihi decrepito iam facit obscurissima* (sic).¹¹⁰ The peculiar adverb *medullitus* appears earlier in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád: *Nec dubites iterum in illorum ossibus conuersari Spiritum sanctum, qui medullitus fuerunt illius, qui loquitur suis*...¹¹¹ Hartvic's reference implies the use of Priscian not only as a grammar but also as a tool of stylistic matters. It can be debated how profoundly he knew Priscian, but he certainly acquired his grammatical and stylistic expertise in his formative years abroad. He was not young when he arrived in Hungary, and thus his reference to Priscian does not originate from Hungarian schooling. Explaining this reference, the Bollandists contended that by the standards of his contemporaries, Hartvic *mediocriter Latine scripsit*.¹¹² The stylistic significance of Hartvic's reference to Priscian appears in other hagiographic writings as well. Ekkehard of Saint Gall, for instance, writes the following in the preface to his biography of Notker Balbulus: *Nos itaque nec Donati regulis ad plenum imbuti, uel grammatica Prisciani, minusue dialecticis uersutiis exercitati, nec rhetoricis floribus philosophicae eloquentiae exhilarati, non in sublimitate sermonis, ea quae collegimus, uere fideli humilitate, dictante rationis iustitia exequemur*.¹¹³ Peter of Saint Aubert employs a similar sort of recusation: *In his ergo solícite descri-*

¹⁰⁷ See Bannister (1917: 389). See also Richard Sharpe, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson, and A.G. Watson, ed., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London: British Library, 1996), 651–9.

¹⁰⁸ Denifle and Chatelain (1896: 15). See also Alturo (1996: 370–9).

¹⁰⁹ See Hänel (1847: 86).

¹¹⁰ Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 401.

¹¹¹ Gerard of Csanád, "Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum," *CCCM* 49, 167.

¹¹² *AASS Septembris* 1, 562. See also Ogle (1926: 177); Kardos (1941: 49); Horváth (1954: 34, 37); Csóka (1966: 93–4); Csóka (1967a: 155–7); Mezey (1970a: 654–5); Mezey (1979: 107–9); reviewed by Boronkai (1980: 273); Kristó (see n. 13, 317).

¹¹³ Ekkehard of Saint Gall, "Vita beati Notkeri Balbuli," *AASS Aprilis* 1, 577.

*bendis rei magis ueritatem, quam narrationem simplicitate sermonis ordinare intendens, studiosos deprecor auditores, ut si rusticitate loquendi, uel Donati uel Prisciani transgressionem regularum, qui non cognoui litteraturam, deliqui in aliquo, insipientiae meae parcant: quoniam eorum in regulis non instructus plenum, nec coloris rhetorici facetias nec ornatum eloquentiae didici Tullianae.*¹¹⁴ The preface to the *Legenda minor* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary also applies the literary convention of dismissing the standards of classical Latin grammar. At the same time, however, the author of the legend alludes to the poetry of Persius (*Saturae* pr.1–3, 14: *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino/ nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso/ memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem... cantare credas Pegaseium nectar*) in the following way: *Nec doctas compositasque grammaticorum lineas aut philosophorum interpretationes, seu sophistica acumina imitamur, quia stultum est in altum nauigare, si non possit ad portum transmeare. Illi ista autumant, qui secundum poeticas fabulas Pegaseo fonte potati sunt, qui se somniasse inter sacra Parnasi gloriantur.*¹¹⁵

Bishop Bonipert's connection to Bishop Fulbert of Chartres represented the beginning of a tradition of Western ties in Pécs through the Middle Ages, including the appointment of a Frenchman, Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs (1219–1251), and the foundation of the university of Pécs by the Angevin king of Hungary, Louis the Great, in 1367.¹¹⁶ Overall, Bishop Bonipert's book request is the first instance that explicitly documents the acknowledgment of a classical Latin work. This helps to explain the status of Latin literacy in early eleventh-century Hungary and also to what extent it was based on the Latin classics. These aspects of teaching and learning advanced Latin grammar in a recently established cathedral school demonstrate how the Latin language facilitated a slow cultural innovation in a recently converted country and show that literary encounters did not cease to cross political borders. This is the way in which the letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs marks the starting point of the classical tradition in medieval Hungary.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Peter of Saint Aubert, "Vita sanctae Dymphnae virginis martyris," *AASS Maii* 3, 485.

¹¹⁵ "Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 393. See Zwierlein (2002: 79–101).

¹¹⁶ See Gabriel (1969: 9–35); Koszta (1996: 71–96).

¹¹⁷ See Cserei (1884: 18–22); Graham (1968: 163–5); Borzsák (1979: 59–60); Borzsák (1998: 258); Néményi (2001d: 39–53).

CHAPTER TWO

The *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary

The *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary is a mirror of princes composed around 1015. Its most important witnesses are two late medieval codices: the Thuróczi codex (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 407, fol. 73r–79v), copied in the late fifteenth century, and the Ilosvay codex (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Fol. Lat. 4023, fol. 9r–11v), written in 1544. Both manuscripts contain the law codes of King Stephen as well.¹¹⁸ Partly based on the late manuscript tradition, hypercritical scholars suggested that the *Admonitions* was a humanist forgery or at least an interpolated and stylistically polished text; however, their suspicion has no serious advocate today, all the more lacking in such because the *Admonitions* is already mentioned in and exerted an influence on the hagiographic writings of medieval Hungary.¹¹⁹ The *Admonitions* ends with the words *Explicit liber primus*; it was therefore traditionally considered to have been an introduction to the laws of King Stephen. The most influential representative of this tradition is the *Corpus iuris Hungarici*, the ancestor of many editions of the *Admonitions* ever since the sixteenth century.¹²⁰ However, the so-called Admont codex, the oldest manuscript of King Stephen's laws, copied in the twelfth century (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 433), does not contain the *Admonitions*. This omission is certainly justified, because the *Admonitions* is not a legal text but a mirror of princes, a politico-ethical treatise meant to instruct Prince Emeric, teenage son of King Stephen.¹²¹ The text has been printed many times, including the Bollandists' *Acta sanctorum* and Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. József Balogh provided the critical edition in the *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* in 1938.¹²²

¹¹⁸ See Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1995: 26, 118); Ladányi (1983: 253–62).

¹¹⁹ See Bollók (1986: 61–7); Szovák (1993: 241–64); Kristó (1999: 844–7). See also Engel (1813: 132–3); M. Florianus, ed., *Historiae Hungaricae fontes domestici*, vol. 1 (Pécs: Taizs, 1881), 220–32; Havas (2001c: 87–107).

¹²⁰ Dezső Márkus, ed., *Corpus iuris Hungarici: Magyar törvénytár 1000–1526 (Corpus iuris Hungarici: inventory of Hungarian laws 1000–1526)* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1899), 2.

¹²¹ Györfly and Bartoniek (see n. 95). See also Schiller (1910: 382–4); Sawicki (1929: 395–425); Guoth (1943: 4–5); Jánosi (1978: 225–54).

¹²² *AASS Septembris* 1, 543–6; “Monita ad filium,” *PL* 151, 1233–44; “Libellus de institutione morum,” *SRH* 2, 611–27. For translations, see Edouard Jordan, “Les Exhortations de saint Etienne,” *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31.8 (1938): 130–8; Géza Érszegi, ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Legends and admonitions from the Árpád age) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983), 54–61; János M. Bak and James Ross Sweeney, “De institutione morum ad Emericum ducem: To Prince Imre concerning Instruction in

Hungarian scholarship has always treated the *Admonitions* extensively, usually with more of a historical than a philological emphasis, most prominently around the years 1938 and 1988, commemorating the nine-hundredth and the nine-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the death of King Saint Stephen of Hungary respectively.¹²³ Most scholars have not doubted that the inspiration came from King Stephen, but the question of authorship is still debated. The oldest tradition attributed the work to the king himself, supported by the image of the *rex iustus* as the holy founder of the Christian kingdom of Hungary.¹²⁴ This tradition originates in the hagiographic literature. The *Legenda maior* of King Saint Stephen, composed around 1083, speaks of the king as the author of the work: *Ipse quoque paterne dilectionis ardore conpunctus libellum de institutione morum constituit, in quo fideliter et amicabiliter uerbis eum admonitionis spiritualis alloquitur instruens...* The legend of Prince Saint Emeric, dated to the period between 1109 and 1112, and the legend of Saint Stephen by Bishop Hartvic adapted this passage almost verbatim.¹²⁵

Before reviewing the differing opinions about the authorship, it should be noted that the hagiographic tradition prompts an attempt at interpreting the title *Libellus de institutione morum* in a classical, patristic and medieval literary context. The diminutive noun *libellus*, from *liber*, like *codicellus* from *codex*, refers to a relatively short text, according to the practice of naming books in the intellectual and bibliographical vocabulary of the Middle Ages.¹²⁶ The title *de institutione morum* suggests that the *Admonitions* belongs to the medieval literary topic of the *instructio morum*, which in turn is a descendent of the classical legacy. Classical authors already applied the terms *institutio* or *instructio morum* – Cicero, *De officiis* 1.33.120: *morum institutorumque*; Cicero, *De re publica* 2.4.8: *institutis et moribus*; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.1.2: *mores et instituta*; Ovid, *Tristia* 2.258: *ad uitium mores instruet inde suos*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 14.7.9: *nouum morem institutum*. Patristic and early medieval authors took over these classical concepts – Arnobius: *Nonne omnia cetera, quibus uita succingitur et continetur humana, suis omnes in gentibus patriorum celebrant institutionibus morum?*; Boethius: *morum institutione*; Isidore of Seville: *Post logicam sequitur ethica, quae ad institutionem pertinet morum*; Hrabanus Maurus: *tropologia in instructione morum ad amorem uirtutis*; Hrabanus Maurus: *Nam quia de eruditione doctrinae et institutione morum praedicatores uerbi Dei iuxta traditionem maiorum*

Virtuous Conduct,” *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.4 (1988): 98–105; Kristó (see n. 13, 124–40); Dag Tes-sore, ed., *Stefano d’Ungheria: Esortazioni al figlio – Leggi e decreti* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2001), 37–69.

¹²³ See Szűcs (1972: 17–40); Szovák and Veszprémy, ed., *SRH* 2, 792–4.

¹²⁴ See Váczy (1935: 86–91); Klaniczay (2002: 114–54).

¹²⁵ “*Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis*,” *SRH* 2, 391; Hartvic, “*Legenda sancti Stephani regis*,” *SRH* 2, 428; “*Legenda sancti Emerici ducis*,” *SRH* 2, 449–50. See also Nora Berend, “Hartvic: Life of King Stephen of Hungary,” in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 390.

¹²⁶ See Dolbeau (1989: 79–99).

hactenus aliquantum instituimus...; Haymo of Halberstadt: *Sapientia est cognitio diuinorum, prudentia est instructio morum... Mores informat, cum docet haec mundana non esse attendenda...*; Paschasius Radbertus: *et doctrina fidei ex ipso eodemque opere ad institutionem morum proficiat in mysterio*.¹²⁷ Besides the classical and patristic antecedents, the *Accessus ad auctores* provides a parallel literary setting to that of the *Admonitions*, with a very similar vocabulary. Its chapter *Accessus Catonis*, based on the commentary on the *Disticha Catonis* by Remigius of Auxerre, describes Cato writing a *libellus* to his son for the sake of the *utilitas morum*: *Sed Censorinus Cato cum uideret iuuenes et puellas in magno errore uersari scripsit hunc libellum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem bene uiuendi, et per eum docens cunctos homines ut iuste et caste uiuant... Dicitur autem ideo ad filium suum scripsisse, ut eo utiliora collegisse putetur... Utilitas est hunc librum legentibus ut uitam suam sapienter instituere agnoscant. Ethice subponitur quia ad utilitatem morum nititur... Dum uero dicit ubi errorem illum intellexerit, scilicet "in uia morum," in ipsorum morum consideratione dociles nos reddit. Dum autem uocat nos filios dicens "fili karissime" beniuolos nos reddit*.¹²⁸ It seems appropriate to note, therefore, that the way in which hagiographic authors referred to the *Admonitions* reveals that its literary genre was associated with classical and patristic antecedents already in the Middle Ages.

Returning now to the problem of authorship, a sentence in Chapter Nine of the *Admonitions* casts doubt even on the commission by King Stephen: *Tu autem fili mi, quotienscumque ad templum dei curris, ut deum adores cum Salomone, filio regis et ipse semper rex dicas...* Salomon, the son of the king, was in fact the son of King Andrew I of Hungary (1046–1060), and this led to the conclusion that the royal commissioner of the booklet was not King Stephen addressing his son, Emeric, but King Andrew addressing his son, Salomon. It looks more plausible, however, that King Andrew named his sons Salomon and David precisely because these names from the Old Testament occur in the *Admonitions*.¹²⁹ Others dated the work to an even later period, suggesting the year 1083 as a *terminus post quem*, when King Stephen, Prince Emeric and Bishop Gerard were canonized, because of the opening words of the *Admonitions*: *In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Incipit decretum sancti regis Stephani*.¹³⁰ Most scholars, however, have found the year of the premature death of Prince Emeric, 1031, a con-

¹²⁷ Arnobius, "Adversus nationes libri VII," *CSEL* 4, 5; Boethius, "Commentaria in Porphyrium," *PL* 64, 114; Isidore of Seville, "Differentiae," *PL* 83, 94; Hrabanus Maurus, "Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam," *PL* 112, 849; Hrabanus Maurus, "De ecclesiastica disciplina," *PL* 112, 1193; Haymo of Halberstadt, "Commentarius in Psalmos," *PL* 116, 361; Paschasius Radbertus, "Expositio in evangelium Matthaei," *PL* 120, 338.

¹²⁸ Huygens (1953: 304–5); R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 15–6. See also Quain (1945: 215–64); Meyer (1997: 390–413).

¹²⁹ *SRH* 2, 626. See Bónis (1956: 135–9); Váczy (1958: 344–5); Bónis (1959: 529–30); Klaniczay (2002: 128).

¹³⁰ *SRH* 2, 619.

vincing *terminus ante quem*. They have proposed arguments for and against the authorship of three major candidates within this chronological limit: Bishop Gerard of Csanád, instructor of Prince Emeric;¹³¹ Archbishop Anastasius of Esztergom, leading person in the royal court;¹³² Thangmar of Hildesheim. Thangmar, a Benedictine who became master of the cathedral school of Hildesheim, might have stayed in Hungary in the 1020s. Textual parallels between the *Admonitions* and Thangmar's biography of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim convinced the Hungarian Benedictine Church historian J. Lajos Csóka that Thangmar wrote the *Admonitions*. Csóka also suggested that the resemblance between the chapter *De hospitibus suscipiendis* in the Rule of Saint Benedict and Chapter Six, *De detentione et nutrimento hospitum*, in the *Admonitions* is an outcome of Thangmar's authorship.¹³³ Since there has been no decisive proof presented so far, the moderate consensus only suggests that the author was an anonymous cleric, perhaps from Lorraine.¹³⁴ It would, however, certainly add to the solution of the problem of authorship if the language and the quotations of the *Admonitions* could help to establish whether the text reflects a library outside Hungary or one inside Hungary where a foreign author could work.

The work has been studied by historians from various points of view: as a source of constitutional history, a witness to the influence of the Cluniac reform in Hungary, a manifestation of the apocalyptic expectations around the turn of the first millennium, a remnant of eleventh-century Central European 'feudalism', and a work of political theory.¹³⁵ Philologists have discovered that the work features the disciplined Latinity of the Carolingian renaissance, a rhymed Latin prose style with some chiasmic constructions.¹³⁶

Besides the Preface, the *Admonitions* is divided into ten chapters: On the Observance of the Catholic Faith (*De obseruanda catholica fide*), On the Reverence for the Clerical Order (*De continendo ecclesiastico statu*), On the Honor due to Prelates (*De impendendo honore pontificum*), On Honoring Magnates and Warriors (*De honore principum et militum*), On Practicing Justice and Patience (*De obseruatione iudicii et*

¹³¹ See *AASS Novembris* 2.1, 480; Batthyány (1827: 53); Wattenbach (1894: 209); Békefi (1901: 922–90); Zoltvány (1902a: 368–80); Békefi (1902a: 773–7); Zoltvány (1902b: 870–1); Békefi (1902b: 872); Manitius (1923: 82–3); Balogh (1931: 158–65); Horváth (1931: 17); Klaniczay (1964: 53–4); Kosztolnyik (1969a: 166–76).

¹³² See Györfy (1977: 370–2).

¹³³ "Benedicti regula," *CSEL* 75, 123–6; *SRH* 2, 624–5. See Csóka (1964: 453–62); Csóka (1967a: 9–96); reviewed by Boronkai (1968: 97–103); Géza Érszegi, ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Legends and admonitions from the Árpád age) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983), 201; Sándor V. Kovács, ed., *A magyar középkor irodalma* (The literature of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1984), 321–31, 1103–5. See also Tschan (1942: 16–22); Lutz (1977: 117–25); Rädle (1993: 201–5).

¹³⁴ See Kóta (1994: 283). See also Török (1992: 89–101).

¹³⁵ Pauler (1879: 13, 16, 30); Deér (1933: 442–3); Pelsöczy (1970: 527–35); Székely (1982: 101); Szűcs (1988a: 32–53); Rácz (2002: 202–4, 294–8).

¹³⁶ See Huszti (1939: 14–6); Mészáros (1940: 6–7); Horváth (1954: 116–31).

patientie), On the Reception and Fostering of Guests (*De detentione et nutrimento hospitum*), On the Importance of the Council (*De magnitudine consilii*), On Sons Following their Elders (*De executione filiorum*), On the Observance of Prayer (*De observatione orationis*), On Piety and Mercy and Other Virtues (*De pietate et misericordia, ceterisque uirtutibus*). The overall structure of the work with its tenfold division recalls the ten choirs of angels (as opposed to the more widespread number nine) and the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament, as is explained in the last chapter: *Nam dominus uirtutum ipse est rex regum, sicut sui exercitus celestis plenitudo in denis consistit choris, sic tue uite conuersatio in decem persistat mandatis*.¹³⁷

The Biblical Latin background of the work is so overwhelming that it is necessary to first give an overview of it so that the classical Latin influence can be seen against the background of the more influential Biblical Latin.¹³⁸ It is important to note that not only did Biblical Latin bring vulgar Latin into classical Latin, a development that also affected characteristic features of medieval Latin, but it also influenced political thought and thus the composition of the works in the genre of the mirror of princes. The influence of the Bible on medieval political theory has repeatedly been a key issue in the inquiries of medieval historians.¹³⁹ An expert of tenth-century political theology once observed about Saint Jerome's Vulgate translation that "the text was read as if God had spoken Latin" and that the Bible offered an open system, a framework of history, a series of models and a doctrine of morality.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Biblical events served as points of reference for medieval perceptions of rulership.¹⁴¹ Through highlighting one representative borrowing from the Preface and one from each chapter, an informative overview can be provided of how passages of the Bible appear in the *Admonitions*—in fact somewhat more of them than one can find in the learned *apparatus* of Balogh's critical edition and more than previous scholarship has acknowledged.

In the Preface, the king addresses his son: *post me regnabis*. The same phrase figures in 3 Kings 1.13, 3 Kings 1.17 and 3 Kings 1.30: *Salomon filius tuus regnabit post me*. A lexical peculiarity here is the specific Vulgate Latin sense of the verb *regnare* (not simply 'to rule over' as in the Latin of the patristic authors, but rather 'to become king') and a syntactical peculiarity is the use of the preposition *post*.¹⁴² Chapter One, On the Observance of the Catholic Faith, admonishes the son that he should not support heretics unless he is also an *inimicus et ultor*. The adjective *inimicus* was to have a lasting career in the Latinity of medieval Hungary as well, but this phrase came literally

¹³⁷ *SRH* 2, 627.

¹³⁸ See Sheerin (1996: 137–56); Smolak (2002: 207–30).

¹³⁹ See Marigo (1940: 108–40); Cremaschi (1959: 35–8); Buc (1994); Hen (1998: 277–89); Meens (1998: 345–57); Pletl (2000: 61–7).

¹⁴⁰ Mostert (1987: 82–3).

¹⁴¹ See Reeves (1991: 12–63).

¹⁴² *SRH* 2, 619. See also Plater and White (1926: 58, 86–7); Souter (1949: 347).

from Psalms (*Hebr.*) 8.3.¹⁴³ Chapter Two, On the Reverence for the Clerical Order, speaks of the Church that is founded *a capite nostro, scilicet Christo*. The metaphor is from Ephesians 5.23: *sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae*, and from Colossians 1.18: *et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae*.¹⁴⁴ Chapter Three, On the Honor due to Prelates, advises the son that *illos ita custodias, sicut oculorum pupillas*. The Biblical antecedents are Deuteronomy 32.10: *et custodiuit quasi pupillam oculi sui*, Psalms (*LXX*) 16.8: *custodi me ut pupillam oculi*, and Psalms (*Hebr.*) 16.8: *custodi me quasi pupillam intus in oculo*. This Biblical expression often appeared in patristic and medieval authors, for instance in Cassiodorus (*Aptissime itaque petit custodiri se ut pupillum oculi*) or in Odilo of Cluny (*Idem tamen medietate oculorum pupillae diuisa uerae caecitatis postmodum ostendit uestigia*).¹⁴⁵ Chapter Four, On Honoring Magnates and Warriors, states that the fourth *decor regiminis* is their trust. One of the possible Biblical sources is Psalms (*Hebr.*) 144.12: *et gloriam decoris regni eius*; another is Daniel 4.33: *et ad honorem regni mei decoremque perueni*.¹⁴⁶ Chapter Five, On Practicing Justice and Patience, warns the son: *Time esse iudex*. The same warning occurs in Ecclesiasticus 7.6: *noli quaerere fieri iudex*. The verb *timere* is much commoner in the Vulgate than *metuere*, but its use with the infinitive is not a syntactical peculiarity of Biblical Latin only—it is also classical.¹⁴⁷ Chapter Six, On the Reception and Fostering of Guests, instructs the prince that his realm will suffer great loss *si enim tu destruere, quod ego edificaui, aut dissipare quod congregaui studueris*. The joint application of the two synonymous verbs for destruction, *destruere* and *dissipare*, figures in Isaiah 49.17: *destruentes te et dissipantes a te exibunt*, and Jeremiah 1.10: *ut euellas et destruas et disperdas et dissipas*. The combination of *dissipare* and *congregare* already appears in classical Latin: Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.25.62: *qui dissipatos homines congregauit*. Besides Biblical Latin, however, it is mainly transmitted to the Middle Ages by patristic authorities such as Saint Jerome: *si pecora quae congregauerat dissipata lanientur* (quoted verbatim by Hrabanus Maurus).¹⁴⁸ Chapter Seven, On the Importance of the Council, admits that *omnino tamen iuuenes non sunt expellendi consiliis*. The reference to the council of the young also has its Biblical antecedents in 3 Kings 12.14: *et locutus est eis secundum consilium iuuenum dicens*, and 2 Chronicles 10.8: *at ille reliquit consilium senum et cum iuuenibus tractare coepit*.¹⁴⁹ Chapter Eight, On

¹⁴³ *SRH* 2, 621. See also *LLMAH* 5, 243–4.

¹⁴⁴ *SRH* 2, 621.

¹⁴⁵ *SRH* 2, 622; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 97, 146; Odilo of Cluny, “Liber miraculorum,” *PL* 142, 988.

¹⁴⁶ *SRH* 2, 623.

¹⁴⁷ *SRH* 2, 624. See also Plater and White (1926: 108); Souter (1949: 421).

¹⁴⁸ *SRH* 2, 625; Saint Jerome, “Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas,” *PL* 26, 437; Hrabanus Maurus, “Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli,” *PL* 112, 380. See also *SRH* 2, 621. For *dissipare* combined with *destruere*, see *LLMAH* 3, 191.

¹⁴⁹ *SRH* 2, 625. For the entry *iuuenis*, Chapter Seven of King Stephen’s *Admonitions* is also quoted in

Sons Following their Elders, declares that *ideoque filii sunt, ut obediant parentibus*. The wording echoes that of Saint Paul in Ephesians 6.1: *Filii oboedite parentibus uestris in Domino* and Colossians 3.20: *Filii oboedite parentibus per omnia*.¹⁵⁰ Chapter Nine, On the Observance of Prayer, recommends the son to pray so that God may grant him the virtues by which *uisibiles et inuisibiles uincas inimicos*. The use of the adjective *uisibilis* and its negative also derives from Saint Paul – Colossians 1.16: *uisibilia et inuisibilia siue throni siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates*, and Hebrews 11.3: *ut ex inuisibilibus uisibilia fierent*. The abundance of verbal adjectives, in *-bilis* and their negatives, in *in-*, is one of the Vulgate Bible's lexical peculiarities.¹⁵¹ This Pauline expression had a strong echo in patristic and Carolingian Latin – Arnobius: *siue uisibiles siue inuisibiles inimici*; Saint Augustine: *et ex illo animante uisibili ad hunc inuisibilem inimicum nostrum*; Saint Augustine: *Quia ergo sunt inuisibiles inimici, inuisibiliter sunt expugnandi. Quippe hostem uisibilem uincis feriendo: inuisibilem uincis credendo. Visibilis est hostis homo; uisibile est ferire: inuisibilis est hostis diabolus; inuisibile est et credere. Est ergo pugna inuisibilis aduersus inuisibiles inimicos*; Bede the Venerable: *eripe me de omni impedimento Satanae et ministrorum eius uisibilium et inuisibilium, infidelium tuorum inimicorum quaerentium animam meam*; Alcuin: *et uictorem faciat omnium inimicorum tuorum, seu uisibilium, seu inuisibilium*; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel: *Illi praeliantur contra uisibiles, isti contra inuisibiles inimicos*; Hrabanus Maurus: *omnesque inimicos suos, tam uisibiles quam etiam inuisibiles*; Hincmar of Reims: *et ab omnibus uisibilium et inuisibilium inimicorum insidiis*; Remigius of Auxerre: *magna multitudo uisibilium et inuisibilium inimicorum*.¹⁵² Finally, Chapter Ten, On Piety and Mercy and Other Virtues, employs a Biblical allusion that was already partly traced back in Balogh's critical edition: *Nam dominus uirtutum ipse est rex regum*. The Biblical models of this formulation include Psalms (LXX) 23.10: *Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex gloriae*, 1 Timothy 6.15: *rex regum et Dominus dominantium*, Apocalypse 17.14: *quoniam Dominus dominorum est et rex regum*, and Apocalypse 19.16: *rex regum et Dominus dominantium*. Among the unusual meanings in the Vulgate Bible, *uirtus* also denotes power and army besides virtue—especially in the Psalms. In the plural, as contrasted with the noun *uis* in the sin-

LLMAH 5, 463.

¹⁵⁰ SRH 2, 626.

¹⁵¹ SRH 2, 627. See also SRH 2, 621: *His quidem armis mentis contra inuisibiles et uisibiles legitime dimicare poteris inimicos*; Plater and White (1926: 48); Souter (1949: 108). The representative occurrences of the adjective *inuisibilis* in the literary sources of medieval Hungary are recorded in LLMAH 5, 378.

¹⁵² Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 127; Saint Augustine, "De Genesi contra Manichaeos," PL 34, 210; Saint Augustine, "Sermones," PL 38, 435; Bede the Venerable, "Libellus precum," PL 94, 529; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 278; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti," PL 102, 696; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio in librum Esther," PL 109, 663; Hincmar of Reims, "Coronationes regiae," PL 125, 807, 811; Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," PL 131, 766.

gular, it can also mean mighty works or miracles in the Latin of the patristic authors as well. The genitive construction *rex regum*, following the type of *caelum caeli* or *saecula saeculorum*, is a Hebraism in Biblical Latin—a sort of a qualitative genitive where the genitive is also applied to heighten the meaning of the noun in the nominative and raise it to a superlative.¹⁵³

Primarily, these examples illustrate lexical, grammatical and stylistic similarities between the Latinity of the Bible and that of King Saint Stephen's *Admonitions*. They, however, also represent the author's dependence on the Bible. When quoting the Bible, the author usually prefers the Old Testament—the Book of Kings, the Prophets and the Psalms—although it is important to note that the quotations might also reflect the influence of liturgical texts, especially in the case of the Psalms, as well as coronation *ordines*. The early medieval popularity of the Old Testament readings thus probably left its mark on the composition of the *Admonitions* as well.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the emphasis on the Old Testament indicates the Biblical roots of the idea of sacral kingship and the combination of royal and sacerdotal functions in the work. Recently, Pál Engel stressed the dualism of *rex et sacerdos* in the *Admonitions*.¹⁵⁵ Earlier, Horst Fuhrmann examined a similar problem of the *rex clericus*: that is, the theoretical background of the clerical aspect of medieval kingship. He also stressed the issue from the historian's point of view.¹⁵⁶ One cannot attempt to assess what the *historische Wirklichkeit* was at the given place and time of the composition of the *Admonitions*. As manifested here in its Latinity, however, the textual evidence suggests that the relevant Old Testament representations of good kings and tyrants, as well as their relation to priests, might very well have affected the anonymous ecclesiastical author's religious attitudes to secular power.

Previous scholarship of the *Admonitions* has already also highlighted the insertion of the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed into Chapter One, On the Observance of the Catholic Faith.¹⁵⁷ The *Symbolum Athanasianum*, also known as *Quicumque uult*, was subject to commentaries in the Latin West from the Carolingian period. One of the manuscripts of these anonymous commentaries, such as a tenth-century copy of the *Expositio symboli Athanasiani* from Saint Emmeram in Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14508, fol. 71–76), could have been accessible to the author of the *Admonitions* too.¹⁵⁸ Another important source could be the *De duodecim abusiuus saeculi* of Pseudo-Cyprian, in fact written in Ireland around 700. It also relies strongly on the

¹⁵³ *SRH* 2, 627. See also Plater and White (1926: 20, 56); Souter (1949: 444).

¹⁵⁴ See Dunbabin (1985: 31–41).

¹⁵⁵ Engel (2001: 38). See also Váczy (1934: 27–41); Pelsöczy (1971: 513–20).

¹⁵⁶ See Fuhrmann (1984: 321–6). See also Skubiszewski (1985: 133–79); Wollasch (1985: 35–48); Seibert (1997: 205–66).

¹⁵⁷ *SRH* 2, 621.

¹⁵⁸ See Haring (1972: 208–52).

Old Testament image of the king, and it certainly influenced Jonas of Orléans, Sedulius Scottus, Hincmar of Reims, Ratherius of Verona and Abbo of Fleury. Not only is its passage on the *rex iniquus* (*Nonus abusiois gradus est rex iniquus*) quoted by Hincmar of Reims (*beati Cypriani pontificis et martyris gloriosi sententias huic opusculo subnectere dignum duximus... Ait enim in libro de duodecum seculi abusiuis... Nonus, inquit, abusiois est gradus, rex iniquus*) and the eleventh-century *Collectio canonum* (*Nonus abusiois gradus est: rex iniquus qui cum malorum sectator esse uult*), but it also shows striking similarities to the text of the *Admonitions*.¹⁵⁹

The *Admonitions* applies the rhymed Latin prose of the Carolingian renaissance; however, as the philologist János Horváth pointed out, citing the standard Latin of the Bible does not allow the author to expand on the rhymed prose style. Just like the Latin Bible, the author usually avoids long and complicated sentences—except for the Preface, where Biblical quotations rarely obstruct the use of rhymes. For instance, to mention one example proposed by Horváth: *poteris... contempseris... non eris*.¹⁶⁰ The same rhymes appear already in Ovid's poetry (*Remedia amoris* 504: *qui poterit sanum fingere, sanus erit*, and 794: *oscula cum poteris iam dare, sanus eris*) and in an anonymous patristic text: *Si mandata diuina contempseris, impunitus esse non poteris*.¹⁶¹ Although prose rhyme and rhythm are only two elements of the artistic style, they are important indicators of the author's schooling. It is therefore appropriate to note here that one of the reputed masters of the *cursus* of prose rhythm in medieval Latin was Hincmar of Reims, himself also an eminent representative of the Carolingian tradition of mirrors of princes.¹⁶² Thus, the author's alternation between observation of and abstention from prose rhyme and rhythm, typical stylistic devices of the art of medieval Latin prosody, also indicates the possibilities and the limits of employing the Latin of the Bible, which serves as an important model of the *Admonitions*. This way of applying Biblical Latin reveals linguistically that the author's point of reference is the Bible in many regards: the personal devotion of the king, his religious duties, and the Christian virtues combined with his royal dignity, that is, the moral function and the divine legitimization of political authority.¹⁶³

It would be important to establish through what filters the Biblical quotations ap-

¹⁵⁹ Pseudo-Cyprian, *De XII abusivis saeculi*, ed. Siegmund Hellmann (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1909), 51; Hincmar of Reims, "De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae," *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 259; "Collectio canonum in V libris," *CCCM* 6, 143. See also Boyer (1947: 209–22); Anton (1982: 568–617); Riché (1984: 387); Nelson (1996: 2).

¹⁶⁰ *SRH* 2, 619. See Horváth (1954: 116–31); reviewed by Galgóczi (1954: 234–42); Mészáros (1940: 6–7). Ede Mészáros was one of the few scholars who dedicated a systematic study to the use of the Bible in the literature of medieval Hungary: see Mészáros (1936).

¹⁶¹ "Appendix ad s. Fulgentii opera," *PL* 65, 949.

¹⁶² See Janson (1975: 36–40). See also Ronconi (1934: 99–120); Tunberg (1996: 111–21).

¹⁶³ See Carlyle and Carlyle (1950: 106–14).

peared in the work, because some passages of the *Admonitions* that reflect Biblical Latin might have been adapted indirectly through the mediation of liturgical and patristic texts. Even if the author was not working with secondhand quotations, he could still depend on the actual format of the Bible that he was using. Medieval library catalogs often record two basic forms of the Bible: the so-called *bibliotheca integra*, in one volume, and the *bibliotheca dispersa*, sometimes containing selected texts in separate volumes and stored at different locations for various purposes.¹⁶⁴ These issues are still subject to further inquiries in the domain of medieval Latin philology. One can, however, conclude the overview of the influence of Biblical Latin on the *Admonitions* by pointing to a recent scholarly observation on the ceremony of the Ottonian royal and imperial *adventus*: its archetype could have been the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. If so, this is certainly a spectacular Biblical parallel to an important tenth-century ritual of political representation.¹⁶⁵ It is in this wider context that a recognition of the influence of Biblical Latin offers a better understanding of the relation between the different factors that influenced the composition of the *Admonitions*. Against its prevalent Biblical Latin background, the classical influence on the work can be interpreted at its proper level, which is actually secondary but no less important from the point of view of the author's Latinity.¹⁶⁶

Even if the authorship is not established, the text suggests that the anonymous author did have access to the Latin classics in one way or another. In the Carolingian mirrors of princes, antecedents of King Saint Stephen's *Admonitions* in many regards, the use of Latin classics contributed to the justification of political ideas by the authority of Roman antiquity, and thus complemented the application of Biblical models. An important literary product of the Carolingian image of the exemplary ruler, Einhard's life of Charlemagne, for instance, is a combination of Ciceronian rhetoric and Suetonian biography. In fact, Einhard could have had access to both Cicero and Suetonius in the monastic library of Fulda. Imitating Suetonius' account (*Tiberius* 70.1: *Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit*), Einhard provides a colorful picture of Charlemagne's interest in the liberal arts, primarily grammar, rhetoric, dialectic and astronomy, but the credibility of this idealistic panorama is somewhat undermined by Einhard's addition about Charlemagne's illiteracy: *Artes liberales studiosissime coluit, earumque doctores plurimum ueneratus magnis adficiebat honoribus. In discenda grammatica Petrum Pisanum diaconem senem audiuit, in ceteris disciplinis Albinum cognomento Alcoinum, item diaconem, de Brittania Saxonici generis hominem, uirum undecumque doctissimum, praeceptorem habuit, apud quem et rethoricae et dialecticae, praecipue tamen astronomiae ediscendae plurimum et temporis et laboris inper-*

¹⁶⁴ See Milde (1996: 269–78). See also Duchet-Suchaux and Lefèvre (1984: 13–23).

¹⁶⁵ See Warner (2001: 255–83). See also Warner (1995: 53–76).

¹⁶⁶ See Nemerkenyi (2002–2003: 281–8).

tiuit. Discebat autem computandi et intentione sagaci siderum cursum curiosissime rimabatur. Temptabat et scribere tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub ceruicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum uacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effigiendis aduesceret, sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus. This passage clearly shows the Carolingian appreciation of secular learning and classical sources in the context of presenting an image of the ideal ruler.¹⁶⁷ This is just like the anonymous author of the poem *Karolus magnus et Leo papa*, who uses Vergil's *Aeneis* in comparing Charlemagne to Aeneas.¹⁶⁸

Turning to the Carolingian mirrors of princes proper, their authors were all well trained in the Latin classics. Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, author of a mirror of princes called *Via regia*, also wrote a commentary on the grammar of Donatus—he declares in its preface that instead of Vergil, Cicero and other pagan authorities, he provides Biblical sentences for grammatical training: *Quem libellum non Maronis aut Ciceronis uel etiam aliorum paganorum auctoritate fulciui, sed Diuinarum Scripturarum sententiis adornauī, ut lectorem meum iucundo pariter artium et iucundo Scripturarum poculo propinarem, ut grammaticae artis ingenium et Scripturarum Diuinarum pariter ualeat comprehendere sensum.*¹⁶⁹ The *De institutione regia* of Jonas of Orléans also shows a complex relationship to the classics. Jonas quotes a celebrated line from Vergil (*Aeneis* 6.853: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*), but in this case it is probably an indirect quotation through the mediation of Saint Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*.¹⁷⁰ A reference by Alcuin also suggests the importance of this Augustinian mediation (*Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. Quem uersiculum beatus Augustinus in libro de ciuitate Dei multa laude exposuit, quamuis magis nobis attendendum sit euangelicis praeceptis, quam Virgiliacis uersibus*). Furthermore, Vergil's famous line appears in the works of Sedulius Scottus (*nam sicut debellare superbos ita et parcere subiectis iustum et misericordem dominatorem oportet*), Lupus of Ferrières (*Paratus est Deus parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*), Henry of Auxerre (*Tutum capietis in eius pietate perfugium, qui semper paratus est parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*) and Adam of Bremen, just to name a few.¹⁷¹ In the *De institutione regia*, Jonas of Orléans

¹⁶⁷ Einhard, "Vita Karoli magni," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 25, 30. See Rand (1926: 40–8); Hellmann (1932: 40–110); Mierow (1944: 195); Sanford (1944: 23); Winterbottom (1983: 399–405); Auerbach (1993: 112–9); Kempshall (1995: 11–37); Bessone and La Conte (1997: 113); Innes (1997: 265–82); Glenn (2001: 179–82).

¹⁶⁸ See Hélin (1951: 411); Zwierlein (1973: 44–52); Godman (1987: 86–91).

¹⁶⁹ Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Liber in partibus Donati," *CCCM* 68, 1. See also Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Via regia," *PL* 102, 931–70; Laistner (1928: 392–7); Eberhardt (1977: 83); Gellrich (1985: 99–100).

¹⁷⁰ Jonas of Orléans, "De institutione regia," *SC* 407, 208; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 144. See also Jonas of Orléans, "Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem," *PL* 106, 277–306; Traube (1920: 42–5); Scharf (1961: 333–84).

¹⁷¹ Alcuin, "Epistolae," *PL* 100, 330; Hellmann (1906: 59); Lupus of Ferrières, "Liber de tribus quaestionibus," *PL* 119, 640; Henry of Auxerre, "De miraculis sancti Germani," *PL* 124, 1269; Adam of Bremen,

also makes use of the popular etymology of the noun *rex*: *Rex a recte regendo uocatur; si enim pie et iuste et misericorditer regit, merito rex appellatur...* This etymology already features in Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.59–60, Priscian (*Ergo “rex” solum, quod a regendo nascitur, peperit ex sese aliud uerbum “regno”*), Cassiodorus (*Rex a regendo dicitur*) and Isidore of Seville (*Reges a recte regendo uocati sunt, ideoque recte faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur*). Quoted from Isidore, the etymology also appears in the *Collectio canonum* in the eleventh century (*Reges a recte regendo uocati sunt*).¹⁷² In his *De rectoribus Christianis*, Sedulius Scottus quotes Vergil, Horace, Ovid and the *Disticha Catonis*.¹⁷³ As the mirrors of princes of Walafrid Strabo, Lupus of Ferrières and Hincmar of Reims also demonstrate, this literary genre was strongly dependent on the Latin classics.¹⁷⁴

This Carolingian tradition remained influential in the eleventh century as well. Wipo, court cleric of Emperor Conrad II and contemporary of the author of the *Admonitions*, composed a rhymed instruction booklet dedicated to Henry, heir to the emperor. In this *Prouerbia*, Wipo also quotes a proverb, originally from Terence (*Andria* 60–1: *nam id arbitror/ adprime in uita esse utile, ut nequid nimis*): *Prouerbum “Ne quid nimis” laudatur in primis*.¹⁷⁵ The same proverb of Terence’s appears in the grammatical works of Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 10.861: *unde et Terentius seruis dat plerumque sententias prudentissimas quidem, sed quae se per naturam offerunt cunctis, ut ne quid nimis*), Priscian, Bede the Venerable and Alcuin, as well as in the works of Ausonius (*Ludus septem sapientium* 155: *Afer poeta uester “ut ne quid nimis”*), Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus (*Ubi est sententia gentilium toto orbe celebrata: Ne quid nimis*), Isidore of Seville, Theodulf of Orléans, Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel and Hrabanus Maurus, and also Gerbert of Aurillac and Thangmar of Hildesheim (*Adeptus itaque pontificatum, quanta continencia iuuenile corpus ad uirtutum culmen coegerit, dici non potest, modum in cunctis agendis praecipue amplectens, iuxta illud uiri sapientis: Ne quid nimis*).¹⁷⁶

“Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 174.

¹⁷² Jonas of Orléans, “Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem,” *PL* 106, 287; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 432–3; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 98, 769; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” *CCSL* 111, 298; “Collectio canonum in V libris,” *CCCM* 6, 146. See Balogh (1928: 580–2).

¹⁷³ Hellmann (1906: 1–91). See also Dalley (1995: 1486–92).

¹⁷⁴ See Hincmar of Reims, “De regis persona et regio ministerio ad Carolum calvum regem,” *PL* 125, 833–56; Werminghoff (1902: 193–214); Born (1933: 583–612); Klinkenberg (1956: 82–98); Wallace-Hadrill (1965: 22–41); Anton (1968); Ullmann (1969); Jackson (1994: 31–52).

¹⁷⁵ Wipo, “Proverbia,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 70.

¹⁷⁶ Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 3, 69; Bede the Venerable, “De orthographia,” *CCSL* 123A, 36; Alcuin, “Grammatica,” *PL* 101, 850; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 55, 337; Saint Augustine, “De doctrina Christiana,” *CCSL* 32, 72; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 98, 1062; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” *CCSL* 111, 193; Theodulf of Orléans, “Fragmenta sermonum,” *PL* 105,

The authors of mirrors of princes of the thirteenth century also cultivated the classical tradition. This can be illustrated with the warning of the contemporary mirrors of princes to avoid *hybris* or *superbia*.¹⁷⁷ The author of a mirror of princes written in Norway in the middle of the thirteenth century, for instance, also had a limited but informative knowledge of ancient history and literature, and this enabled him to make a few references to Nero and Constantine the Great. This can be explained by taking into account the fact that this mirror of princes reflects the practical knowledge of the royal household acting in the service of the king, rather than the cultural level of a clerical author with more theoretical knowledge than his fellow courtiers.¹⁷⁸ It is a different issue when one deals with mirrors of princes composed in the second half of the thirteenth century by such authors as Saint Thomas Aquinas and Giles of Rome, both of whom authored a *De regimine principum*.¹⁷⁹ Another significant author in this tradition is Marsilius of Padua. In the early fourteenth century, he already practiced political philosophy, and elaborated a distinction between ecclesiastical and secular (that is, papal and imperial) powers at a theoretical level. Analyzing Aristotle's *Politics* in his *Defensor pacis*, he also drew a parallel between the state and its citizens and the body and its organs.¹⁸⁰

Besides the mirrors of princes, the proceedings of the Carolingian councils have also been taken into consideration, because they influenced not only King Stephen's law codes but probably the *Admonitions* as well. Legal historians also emphasized the role of Roman law and canon law in the composition of the work. However, the basic problem with the possible influence of Justinian, for instance, is that the recovery of the *Digesta* can be dated to the period from the mid-eleventh century only.¹⁸¹

Similarly to the Carolingian mirrors of princes and conciliar decrees, the *Admonitions* attributes great importance to the bishops. The representation of the bishops in the work is influenced by the metaphor of the body, the vocabulary of the Bible and the Latin classics, and partly by the Ottonian models. The Preface enumerates the order of the bishops among the hierarchy of dignities by the grace of God to be protected by both divine providence and human precautions: *uniuersa huius uite utilitati dignitatieque gratia dei concessa, scilicet regna, consulatus, ducatus, comitatus, pontificatus,*

279; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti," *PL* 102, 917; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum," *PL* 109, 989; Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 245; Thangmar of Hildesheim, "Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis," *MGH: Scriptores* 4, 759.

¹⁷⁷ See Buschmann (1963: 95).

¹⁷⁸ See Bagge (1987: 98).

¹⁷⁹ See Born (1928: 480–4, 488–91); Berges (1938).

¹⁸⁰ Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, vol. 2, *The Defensor Pacis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 63–5. See Black (1992: 58–71).

¹⁸¹ See Závodszy (1904: 13); Balogh (1943: 273–336); Hartmann (1976: 42–8); Schröder (1980: 13–32); Szűcs (1988b: 89–97); Müller (1990: 1–29); Hamza (1995–1996: 27–34); Kosztolnyik (2002: 124).

*ceterasque dignitates, partim diuinis preceptis atque institutis, partim ciuilibus ac nobiliorum etateque prouectorum consiliis suasionibus regi, defendi, coadunari uideam...*¹⁸² The wording of the title of Chapter Two, *De continendo ecclesiastico statu*, echoes Cicero (*Pro Sulla* 22.63: *status enim rei publicae maxime iudicatis rebus continetur*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3.6.42: *His etiam ceteri status contineri dicuntur*). According to this chapter, the ecclesiastical hierarchy is part of the members of the body of Christ: *In regali quidem palatio post fidem ecclesia secundum tenet statum, a capite nostro, scilicet Christo ecclesia primitus seminata, deinde per eius membra, utique apostolos, sanctosque patres transplantata et firmiter edificata, atque per totum orbem diffusa. Et quamuis semper nouam et habeat prolem, in ceteris tamen locis quasi antiqua habetur, hic autem fili carissime in nostra monarchia adhuc quasi iuuenis et nouella predicatur, atque idcirco cautioribus euidentioribusque eget custodibus, ne bonum, quod diuina clementia per suam immensam misericordiam nobis concessit inmeritis, per tuam desidiam et pigritiam atque negligentiam destruat, et annihiletur. Nam qui minuit aut fedat sancte ecclesie dignitatem, ille Christi corpus mutilare nititur.*¹⁸³ The vocabulary of this passage relies on Biblical, classical and patristic Latin terminology. The following parallels can be considered: *quasi iuuenis et nouella* – Psalms (*LXX*) 143.12: *quorum filii sicut nouella plantationis in iuuentute sua; cautioribus euidentioribusque eget custodibus* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.1.20: *Nam et cautiores ad custodiam suae religionis iudices facit*, Florus, *Epitoma* 2.21.10: *incautiores nanta custodiam in mausoleum*, and Gregory the Great: *ad uirtutum custodiam cautior exsurgit*,¹⁸⁴ *qui minuit aut fedat sancte ecclesie dignitatem* – Cicero, *Brutus* 1.1: *talis auguris dignitatem nostri conlegi deminutam dolebam*, Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.68.5: *minuenda dignitas*, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.3.48: *qua rei magnitudo uel dignitas minuitur*, and Justinian, *Digesta* 1.7.35: *Per adoptionem dignitas non minuitur, sed augetur; Christi corpus mutilare* – Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri magni* 9.2.19: *tam uasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt*, and Cassiodorus: *corpora, quae nulla sunt mutilatione truncata*.¹⁸⁵ Then, as in the following passage, the body metaphor is applied to the Church: *Si quis in febre huius ecclesie sancte membra uel paruulos scandalizat...*¹⁸⁶ The wording primarily alludes to Matthew 5.29–30: *Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et proice abs te. Expedit enim tibi, ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam. Et si dextera manus tua scandalizat te, abscide eam et proice abs te. Expedit tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam*. Furthermore, it also resembles the vocabulary of Saint Jerome (*Nota*

¹⁸² *SRH* 2, 619.

¹⁸³ *SRH* 2, 621–2.

¹⁸⁴ Gregory the Great, “*Moralia in Iob*,” *CCSL* 143, 470.

¹⁸⁵ Cassiodorus, “*Variarum libri XII*,” *CCSL* 96, 410.

¹⁸⁶ *SRH* 2, 622.

quod qui scandalizatur paruulus est; maiores enim scandala non recipiunt), Saint Augustine (*carnales paruuli ecclesiae*) and Isidore of Seville (*paruulis ecclesiae*).¹⁸⁷

Applied to the Church, the staging of the body metaphor in Chapter Two of the *Admonitions* serves as a significant prelude to introducing the bishops in Chapter Three, *De impendendo honore pontificum*, entirely devoted to an ideal episcopal model. The key term in the title, *honor pontificum*, has classical and patristic antecedents such as Cicero, *De domo sua* 45.118: *non honoribus populi Romani ornatum pontificem*, Ovid, *Fasti* 3.420: *accessit titulis pontificalis honor*, Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 8.363: *ut sacratae religionis usum tribuat antisti diuina communia, utpote quem etiam pontificali honore nuncupauerat*, and Isidore of Seville: *et dominus pontificum, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum, amen*. A similar term also occurs later in the legend of Saint Stephen by Hartvic: *pontificali honore*.¹⁸⁸ The whole of Chapter Three runs like this: *Regium solium ornat ordo pontificum ac per hoc in regali dignitate tertium possident locum pontifices, karissime fili, sint tibi seniores, illos ita custodias, sicut oculorum pupillas. Si illorum beniuolentiam habueris, neminem aduersariorum timebis. Illis quidem te obseruantibus eris securus in omnibus; illorum precatio commendabit te omnipotenti deo. Illos enim deus diuini generis constituit custodes fecitque speculatores animarum ac totius ecclesiastice dignitatis atque diuini sacramenti compositores et datores. Sine illis enim nec constituuntur reges, nec principantur; per illorum interuentum delicta delentur hominum. Si illos perfecte amas, te ipsum sine dubio sanas, tuumque regnum honorifice gubernas. In manus enim illorum posita est potestas ligandi nos in peccatis et a peccatis soluendi. Testamentum enim semipiternum statuit illis deus, eosque segregauit ab hominibus et sui nominis atque sanctitatis fecit participes et ab humano die interdixit reprehendendos esse per Dauid deificum regem: Nolite tangere christos meos. Ille enim tangit christos dei, qui contra diuinum atque canonum institutum sacri ordinis uiros falsis criminationibus fedat, atque in publicum prostrahit. Quod te omnino fili mi agere prohibeo, si uis beatus uiuere et tuum regnum honestare, quia in his rebus imprimis offenditur deus. Si accidente casu culpa reprehensione digna super aliquem horum, de quibus sermo est, ceciderit, quod absit, corripe eum ter, quater inter te et ipsum solum iuxta preceptum ewangelii. Si tunc renuerit audire monita, adhibenda sunt sibi publica secundum hec: Si te non audierit, dic ecclesie. Nam si tu ordinem seruabis gloriosam tuam penitus exaltabis coronam*.¹⁸⁹

As regards the terminology, the author consistently uses the classical term *pontifex* to denote the bishops—instead of the terms *antistes*, *episcopus*, *praesul* or *sacerdos*.

¹⁸⁷ Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV,” CCL 77, 157; Saint Augustine, “De baptismo,” CSEL 51, 211; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” CCL 111, 73.

¹⁸⁸ Isidore of Seville, “De ecclesiasticis officiis,” CCL 113, 57; Hartvic, “Legenda sancti Stephani regis,” SRH 2, 416.

¹⁸⁹ SRH 2, 622–3.

The word choice, in the context of Biblical Latin and its ecclesiastical Latin offspring, is clearly classical. The ambiguous etymology of the term *pontifex* in Roman antiquity is described by Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.15.83: *Sacerdotes uniuersi a sacris dicti. Pontufices, ut Scaeuola Quintus pontufex maximus dicebat, a posse et facere ut potifikes. Ego a ponte arbitror; nam ab his sublicius est factus primum, ut restitutus saepe, cum eadem sacra et uis et cis Tiberim non mediocri ritu fiant.*¹⁹⁰ Varro's etymology had a lasting impact, up to and including the eleventh century. The hagiographic account of Bishop Ermengol of Urgel (died 1035) describes how the holy bishop started building a bridge, worthy of his title of *pontifex*: *Non immerito igitur pontificis nomine Dei cultor fungebatur, quia si animarum saluti pontem parabat, quo iter in caelum dirigeretur, corporum etiam substantiae subiciens, pontem iter facientibus componere nitebatur... Ad hunc siquidem locum praelibatus athleta ueniens, artificibus praemissis, coepit ipse manibus propriis operando pontem construere...*¹⁹¹ Later on, Peter Damian provides the same etymology: *pontifex autem quasi "pontem faciens" ... et sui nominis ethimologiam exhibuit et officium pontificatus impleuit.*¹⁹² The expression *ordo pontificum* already figures in classical Latin (Cicero, *De haruspicum responso* 7.13), but in the *Admonitions* it derives primarily from the Old Testament and Saint Paul (2 Kings 23.4: *Et praecepit rex Helciae pontifici et sacerdotibus secundi ordinis*, Nehemiah 13.30: *et constituit ordines sacerdotum et Leuitarum*, Hebrews 5.10: *appellatus a deo pontifex iuxta ordinem Melchisedech*, and Hebrews 6.20: *secundum ordinem Melchisedech pontifex factus in aeternum*). The term also appears in Cassiodorus (*excelsus ordo pontificum*) and in a hymn by Notker Balbulus (*Nunc omne sacerdotium/ Primus ordo pontificum,/ Clerum ducendo subditum,/ Fletum tergite supplicum*).¹⁹³

The interpretation of the expression *sint tibi seniores* is problematic. In 1949, a Hungarian historian, arguing for the overall political dominance of the Church in medieval Hungary, suggested that the term *senior* referred to the role of the bishops as the king's overlords, not merely elders, in a so-called feudal context.¹⁹⁴ Although the ideal king was to cherish the bishops *sicut oculorum pupillas*, a metaphor from the Old Testament again (Deuteronomy 32.10, Psalms 16.8, Proverbs 7.2, Lamentations 2.18 and Zacharias 2.8), the hypothesis of the bishops as overlords has not been generally accepted. Nevertheless, the *Admonitions* preserved the Carolingian tradition on king-making, as was reported by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, even though eleventh-century Central European king-making policies did not imitate the Carolingian patterns.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ See Hallett (1970: 219–27); Kavanagh (2000: 59–65).

¹⁹¹ "Vita sancti Ermengaudi," *AASS Novembris* 2.1, 84. See Bowman (2002: 1–2).

¹⁹² Peter Damian, "Sermones," *CCCM* 57, 225.

¹⁹³ Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 98, 1034; Notker Balbulus, "Hymnus de omnibus sanctis," *PL* 87, 58.

¹⁹⁴ Lederer (1949: 82–3).

¹⁹⁵ See Székely (1983: 17–28).

The expression *diuini generis* originates from classical Latin (Cicero, *Timaeus* 11.41: *diuini generis*), but the author certainly applies it in its patristic context as provided by Novatianus (*semen quoddam diuini generis*), Arnobius (*diuini generis et potestatis*) and the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (*ut sicut nomine Patris et Filii diuini generis intelligimus ueritatem*).¹⁹⁶ In the context of divine sacrament, however, the choice of the noun *compositores* apparently stands unparalleled. Its meaning was naturally different in classical Latin (Cicero, *Orator* 19.61: *non enim inuentor aut compositor aut actor*, Ovid, *Tristia* 2.356: *plus sibi permisit compositore suo*, and Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.704: *conponere, unde et structores dicuntur ferculorum compositores*) and Saint Augustine also applies it in its classical sense: *ipsi poetae talium fabularum compositores*. So too does Gregory the Great (*Fingere namque componere dicimus; unde et compositores luti figulos uocamus*), whose explanation of *compositores* was taken over word for word by the Carolingian commentaries on the grammar of Donatus, the *Ars Laurehamensis*, Murethach and Sedulius Scottus, as well as Hrabanus Maurus. Hincmar of Reims, on the other hand, uses the word in the Ciceronian sense: *potius compilatores quam compositores existerent*.¹⁹⁷

Without the bishops, *nec constituuntur reges*: the tradition is Carolingian but the wording is clearly classical, resembling the vocabulary of Caesar (*De bello Gallico* 4.21.7 and 5.54.2), Cicero (*De lege agraria* 2.6.15 and 2.11.29, *De re publica* 2.18.33, and *Pro Sestio* 27.58) and Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 37.147). The expression is transmitted through patristic and Carolingian authors such as Cassiodorus (*Sed et reges terrarum constituuntur a Domino*) and Hincmar of Reims (*Et multi ciuium uel militum fulti auxilio reges constituuntur uel deiiciuntur de principatu*), and the author of the *Admonitions* repeats it elsewhere too.¹⁹⁸ The parallels of the expression *falsis criminationibus fedat* always appear in a similar context: Cicero, *De oratore* 2.79.321: *contra falsam criminationem*; Saint Augustine: *uanis erroribus et falsis criminationibus aduersus catholicam ecclesiam credentes*; Boethius: *An tu quoque mecum rea falsis criminationibus agiteris?*; Cassiodorus: *proditionis patriae falsis criminationibus accusatum*; Hrabanus Maurus: *uel falsis criminationibus mentem non patefaciant*.¹⁹⁹ The warning *agere prohibeo* has a clearly legal background: it often figures in Justinian's

¹⁹⁶ Novatianus, "De Trinitate," *CCL* 4, 71; Arnobius, "Adversus nationes libri VII," *CSEL* 4, 175; "Sacramentarium Gelasianum," *PL* 74, 1133.

¹⁹⁷ Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCL* 47, 45; Gregory the Great, "Homiliae in euangelia," *PL* 76, 1182; "Ars Laurehamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem," *CCCM* 40A, 46; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40, 92; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40B, 69; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in libros Paralipomenon," *PL* 109, 307; Hincmar of Reims, "De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio," *PL* 125, 99.

¹⁹⁸ Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCL* 97, 45; Hincmar of Reims, "De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae," *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 248; *SRH* 2, 625: *Consilio quidem constituuntur reges...*

¹⁹⁹ Saint Augustine, "De baptismo," *CSEL* 51, 267; Boethius, "Philosophiae consolatio," *CCL* 94, 5; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," *CCL* 96, 19; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Genesim," *PL* 107, 549.

Digesta (3.1.10: *et aduersus fiscum agere non prohibentur*, 22.1.19: *agere non prohibentur*, and 48.19.9: *non prohibetur agere*). The same holds true for the expression *culpa reprehensione digna*, all the more so because its Ciceronian usage (*Philippicae* 12.10.25: *culpa reprehensionem*, and *Pro Ligario* 1.2: *Ligari ullam culpam reprehendatis*, quoted by Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.5.13) also appears in patristic authors such as Cassianus (*culpa tamen ac reprehensione carere non possunt*) and Gregory the Great (*culpam reprehensionis*).²⁰⁰ The conjunction *de quibus sermo est* is just as much Ciceronian (*De finibus* 3.12.40: *rebus iis, de quibus hic sermo est*, and *Lucullus* 18.57: *de quo omnis hic sermo est*) as it is patristic and Carolingian: the same expression is also used by Bede the Venerable, Hrabanus Maurus and John Scottus Eriugena.²⁰¹

Chapter Three also shows the combination of Biblical and classical Latinity: a direct quotation from Psalms 104.15 (*nolite tangere christos meos*) is not much later followed by a phrase (*si tu ordinem seruabis*) which has its parallels in the military vocabulary of Caesar (*De bello Gallico* 4.26.1 and 7.23.5, and *De bello ciuili* 1.44.1, 1.44.3 and 2.41.6) and Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 3.60.9, 8.34.10, 9.19.8, 24.48.11, 30.35.6 and 37.23.9), as well as in Cicero (*De inuentione* 1.34.59: *ordinem seruant*) and later in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.15.4: *Contra Vergilius nullum in commemorandis regionibus ordinem seruat*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.972: *quae ratione certa ordinem seruant*). This classical expression had a very strong resonance with numerous patristic, Carolingian and medieval authors, such as Saint Ambrose (*recte naturae ordinem seruas*), Saint Augustine (*suasque uices atque ordinem seruant*), Cassiodorus (*ueritatis ordinem seruat*), Gregory the Great (*ut quia conditionis nostrae ordinem seruare noluimus*), Bede the Venerable (*qui uidelicet iustum statutumque a Deo humanae conditionis ordinem seruant*), Alcuin (*praecursionis suae ordinem seruans*, quoted by Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel and Hrabanus Maurus), Remigius of Auxerre (*quae ratione certa ordinem seruant*), and the commentaries on the grammar of Donatus (*Ars Ambrosiana: In his Donatus naturalem rerum ordinem seruat*, and Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel: *et subiunctiuum ordinem seruant*), as well as Gerbert of Aurillac (*Si corpus in corpore ordinem seruat*) and Odilo of Cluny (*Nam quidquid ordinem seruat iustitiae*).²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Cassianus, "Conlationes," *CSEL* 13, 324; Gregory the Great, "Registrum epistularum," *CCSL* 140A, 835.

²⁰¹ Bede the Venerable, "Explanatio Apocalypseos," *CCSL* 121A, 363; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in libros Regum," *PL* 109, 243; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1059.

²⁰² Saint Ambrose, "De Iacob et vita beata," *CSEL* 32.2, 61; Saint Augustine, "De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber," *CSEL* 28.1, 487; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 98, 1101; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," *CCSL* 143, 11; Bede the Venerable, "Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio," *PL* 91, 1020; Alcuin, "Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium," *PL* 100, 754; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Collectiones epistularum et evangeliorum," *PL* 102, 525; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in

The historical context of early eleventh-century Hungary can also contribute to the interpretation of the image of the bishops in the *Admonitions*. Caught between Pope Sylvester II and Emperor Otto III, but preferring papal supremacy to the imperial one, King Stephen started to establish the Hungarian diocesan system independent from imperial influence. It required legislation; the second chapter of the first law code of King Stephen on the powers of the bishops over church goods and their accord with laymen decreed the following: *Volumus, ut episcopi habeant potestatem res ecclesiasticas preuidere, regere et gubernare atque dispensare secundum canonicam auctoritatem. Volumus, ut et laici in eorum ministerio obediant episcopis ad regendas ecclesias, uiduas et orphanos defensandos et ut obedientes sint ad eorum christianitatem seruandam.*²⁰³ Under the circumstances of consolidating the freshly converted country against powerful attempts at pagan restoration, the creation of local bishoprics followed Western models, and the author of the *Admonitions* also relied on the Western tradition—a tradition complex and controversial in itself. While Carolingian ecclesiology maintained the bishops' right of resistance, political practice ensured royal authority over the prelates. Examining the *Admonitions* in the light of the contrast between theory and practice in Carolingian politics, József Deér faced the problem of pondering the significance of both, but finally suggested a third solution: the *Admonitions* was influenced by the Cluniac reform. Arguing for the royal authority over the bishops in Carolingian practice, on the other hand, Deér refers to the episcopal oath of 877 as reported in the Annals of Saint Bertin by Hincmar of Reims: *secundum meum scire et posse et meum ministerium et auxilio et consilio fidelis et adiutor ero, sicut episcopus recte seniori suo debitor est, in mea fide et meo sacerdotio.*²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the Ottonian model of the *rex canonicus*, that is, the king as a canon involved in ecclesiastical affairs as a colleague of the bishop, would also explain the division of sacred and profane functions between the bishops and the king in the *Admonitions*. This is how the king and the bishops share each other's mixed functions: the bishops are competent in secular affairs through their political power, and the king is competent in ecclesiastical affairs through his spiritual power. Since this theory worked in the practice of the political and even military 'friendships' of kings and bishops in the tenth century, it would seem likely to work in the eleventh century also. The author anticipated its fea-

Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 772; Remigius of Auxerre, "De musica," *PL* 131, 951; "Ars Ambrosiana: Commmentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores," *CCSL* 133C, 39; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Liber in partibus Donati," *CCCM* 68, 215; Gerbert of Aurillac, "De corpore et sanguine domini," *PL* 139, 188; Odilo of Cluny, "Sermones," *PL* 142, 1018. See also 1 Chronicles 16.22.

²⁰³ János M. Bak, György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1, 1000–1301 (Idyllwild, CA: Schlacks, 1999), 3. See also Kristó (1998b: 55–66); Thoroczkay (2001: 49–68).

²⁰⁴ Hincmar of Reims, "Annales Bertiniani," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 5, 139; Deér (1933: 442–3). See also Morrison (1964: 215–38); Nelson (1999: XVII.16–34).

sibility in Hungary and provided the imaginary bishops of the *Admonitions* with royal support and exemption from human law. This attitude is similar to that of the royal *promissio* of Mainz by Emperor Henry II in 1002: *ecclesiam dei et sacerdotes Christi sublimare et exaltare uigilantissima deuocione pro scire ac posse studebimus*.²⁰⁵

Another important feature of King Stephen's *Admonitions* is the organic perception of political authority. Originating in ancient political ideas, this theory treats the components of state and society as parts of the body of a living creature. The author speaks of *caput* and *oculi* as parts (*membra*) of the whole body, which consists of the *fides catholica*, *status ecclesiasticus*, *pontifices*, *principes*, *milites*, *hospites* and, last but not least, the *consilium*. Primarily, this medieval organic concept in the *Admonitions* is based on Saint Paul, in Romans 12.4–5: *Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent, ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra*. The allegory of the apostle appears elsewhere too – 1 Corinthians 12.12: *Sicut enim corpus unum est et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis, cum sint multa, unum corpus sunt, ita et Christus...* It became connected to the eucharistic concept of the *corpus mysticum* and also to the *corpus ecclesiae* even in the patristic authors who elaborated on the relevant Pauline passages, most importantly Saint Ambrose (*Omnes unum corpus Christi sumus, cui caput Deus, membra autem nos sumus, alii fortasse oculi ut prophetae, dentes ut apostoli qui euangelicae praedicationis cibum nostris infudere pectoribus... sunt et manus eius illi qui uidentur bonorum exsecutores operum, sunt et uenter eius qui uires alimoniae pauperibus largiuntur, sunt ergo et pedes eius aliqui, atque utinam merear eius esse calcaneum!*) and Saint Augustine (*totum hoc unum corpus Christi: singuli autem membra Christi. Si ergo omnes corpus, singuli membra; est utique caput cuius hoc sit corpus*). This patristic concept gradually developed into the Carolingian formulations of the corporate idea of the body politic, as is emphasized already in the first chapter in the *De institutione regia* of Jonas of Orléans: *Sciendum omnibus fidelibus est quia uniuersalis ecclesia corpus est Christi et eius caput idem est Christus, et in ea duae principaliter exstant eximiae personae, sacerdotalis uidelicet et regalis, tantoque est praestantior sacerdotalis, quanto pro ipsis regibus Deo est rationem redditura*.²⁰⁶

In the *Admonitions*, likewise, the organic concept of the mystical body of Christ, the Eucharist and the Church is transformed into political categories. This transformation commonly relied upon the Pauline metaphor, but one should also consider the

²⁰⁵ Schneider (1972: 93). See also Fleckenstein (1964: 57–71); Auer (1971: 316–407); Konstan (1994–1995: 1–16); Bühner-Thierry (1997: 143–7); Althoff (1999: 91–105); Nemerkenyi (2001c: 79–86).

²⁰⁶ Saint Ambrose, “Epistulae extra collectionem,” *CSEL* 82.3, 152; Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” *PL* 39, 1500; Jonas of Orléans, “Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem,” *PL* 106, 285. See also Chroust (1947: 423–52); Lubac (1949: 94–104); Wemple (1974: 222–37); Struve (1978: 10–43); Fried (2000: 42–9); Iogna-Prat (2001: 49–69).

secondary influence of the ancient Greek and Roman metaphors of the body. As the celebrated monograph by Georges Duby on the medieval theory of the three orders has shown, the metaphor of the body was by no means the only way of representing state and society.²⁰⁷ Whereas the theory of the three orders was limited both geographically and chronologically, the organic perception had already appeared in classical Greek literature. Aesop's 159th fable recounts the story of the stomach and the legs: they cannot stand each other, but they cannot live without each other either, since the stomach feeds the legs and the legs carry the stomach; consequently there must always be a compromise between them. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.3, Socrates explains in a longer talk that brothers should live in harmony, just as the double organs, such as eyes, hands and legs, do: better to complement than to hinder one another. In Plato's *Phaedrus* 264c, Socrates declares that a perfect speech is similar to a living creature: none of its parts can be missing, for otherwise it would be like a person with disabilities. Aristotle in the *Politics* 1302b compares the citizens of the Greek *polis* to the parts of the body: they should be proportional, otherwise a deformed body and a deformed political establishment evolves.²⁰⁸

In classical Latin literature, Cicero already exploited the metaphor of the body for the description of the Roman state (*Philippicae* 8.5.15) but the most influential staging of the organic perception is the speech of Menenius Agrippa on behalf of the Roman aristocracy in order to put an end to the *secessio* of the *plebs* on the *Mons sacer* in 494 BC. Menenius Agrippa's speech is reported in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* 2.32.9–12: *Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio uentri omnia quaeri, uentrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis uoluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum uentrem fame domare uellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem uenisse. Inde apparuisse uentris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo uiuimus uigemusque, diuisum pariter in uenas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.* Finally, the stomach regained its former rights: Menenius Agrippa managed to persuade the *plebs* to return to Rome. The most popular version of the story appears in Livy, but earlier Cicero attributed the speech to the dictator Marcus Valerius in *Brutus* 14.54: *M. Valerium dictatorem dicendo sedauisse discordias.* Quintilian, on the other hand, also attributes this rhetorical masterpiece to Menenius Agrippa in his *Institutio oratoria* 5.11.19: *si quidem et Menenius Agrippa plebem cum patribus in gratiam traditur reduxisse nota illa de mem-*

²⁰⁷ Duby (1980).

²⁰⁸ See Barner (1889).

bris humanis aduersus uentrem discordantibus fabula... Other variants of the story survive in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 6.83–6) and Cassius Dio (whose work is excerpted in the twelfth-century Byzantine chronicler Zonaras' *Epitome historion* 7.14). On the basis of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* 1.40.1, it has been argued that the principal source of the speech by Menenius Agrippa was a fable of Alcmeon of Croton around 500 BC and that this version was adapted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as well. Scholars of ancient rhetoric, however, maintain that the most important sources of the speeches in Livy's work were the annalistic historians and the oral tradition.²⁰⁹

The story is retold in the twelfth century by the erudite classicist John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus*: *Accidit ut aduersus stomachum membra omnia totius corporis conspirarent, tamquam aduersus eum qui uoracitate sua labores omnium exhauriret... Factumque est ita; suadente ratione repletus est uenter, refocillata membra, et pax omnium reformata. Absolutus est itaque stomachus, qui, licet uorax sit et auidus alieni, non sibi tamen petit sed aliis quae eo exinanito nequeunt sustentari.*²¹⁰ Nonetheless, as has been pointed out recently, there is a broad dichotomy between the cultivated masters of the classical curriculum, such as John of Salisbury, and the average alumni of the schools, such as Thomas Becket—not to mention the anonymous author of the *Admonitions*.²¹¹ Furthermore, direct knowledge of Livy was rare in the Middle Ages. The first decade of his Roman history figures in the mid-eleventh-century library catalog of Cluny (*Volumen in quo continetur prima decada Titi Liuii*), but the author of the *Admonitions* most probably never read Livy's work. What he might have had access to, however, is short portions of it, perhaps the story of Menenius Agrippa, in *florilegia*.²¹² Italian humanists partly recovered Livy's corpus, and Machiavelli provided an exhaustive and strongly topical commentary on the first decade.²¹³ Later the baroque fanatics of Latin rhetoric admired Menenius Agrippa's speech. In his booklet printed in 1684, Georgius Hirsch praises him in the following way: *Ex omnibus uero, quos erudita nobis antiquitas reliquit, apologos, principem tuere locum uidetur ille Menenii Agrippe de membris humanis aduersus uentrem conspirantibus, quo plebem Romanam, postquam in montem sacrum armata secesserat, in urbem reuocauit feliciter.* So *feliciter* is this that Hirsch locates Menenius Agrippa in the company of mythical heroes: *Menenius hic tumultuantibus appropinquans, uidebatur sibi uidere non Montem*

²⁰⁹ See Canter (1917–1918: 125–51, 44–64); Nestle (1927: 350–60); Walsh (1961: 77, 86, 92); Ogilvie (1965: 312–3); Kennedy (1972: 24–6); Capizzi (1983: 159–63); Havas (1983: 99–106).

²¹⁰ Clemens C.I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 71–2. See also Schrader (1912: 150–1); Martin (1969: 319–21); Nederman (1987: 211–23); Nederman (1988: 3–26); Moos (1988).

²¹¹ See Duggan (2001: 1–22).

²¹² See Wilmart (1921: 115); Reynolds (1983b: 205–14); Büren (1992: 256–67); Büren (1996: 57–73).

²¹³ See Anderson (1958: 232–5).

*Sacrum, sed Titanum aduersus Superos rebellentium et subiectum Pelion Ossae...*²¹⁴

Compared to Livy, Sallust provided more compelling reading material in the Middle Ages, due to the widespread manuscript transmission of his works, and therefore his influence represents a more probable factor in the composition of the *Admonitions*.²¹⁵ Sallust's popularity, along with his frequent comparison to Thucydides, is already attested by ancient Roman authors such as Velleius Paterculus (*Historia Romana* 2.36.2: *aemulumque Thucydidis Sallustium*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.101: *At non historia cesserit Graecis. Nec opponere Thucydidi Sallustium uerear*, and 10.2.17: *Attici scilicet; qui praecisis conclusionibus obscuri Sallustium atque Thucydiden superant*), Martial (*Epigrammata* 14.191.2: *primus Romana Crispus in historia*) and Tacitus (*Annales* 3.30.2: *C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*). Grammarians such as Donatus, Servius and Priscian greatly contributed to his popularity.²¹⁶ Sallust's medieval appreciation, however, was more firmly based on the authority of the patristic authors. Saint Jerome called him *Romanae linguae disertissimus*. Saint Augustine also used this epithet, *uir disertissimus Sallustius*, as well as the expression *Sallustius, nobilitatae ueritatis historicus*. Referring to Cicero's *De re publica*, Augustine recalls his reading of Sallust in the *De ciuitate Dei*: *Quando ergo res publica Romana talis erat, qualem illam describit Sallustius, non iam pessima ac flagitiosissima, sicut ipse ait, sed omnino nulla erat secundum istam rationem, quam disputatio de re publica inter magnos eius tum principes habita patefecit. Sicut etiam ipse Tullius non Scipionis nec cuiusquam alterius, sed suo sermone loquens in principio quinti libri commemorato prius Ennii poetae uersu, quo dixerat: "Moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque."*²¹⁷ Early medieval authorities praised Sallust similarly. Isidore of Seville, in *Etymologiae* 13.21.10, called him *Sallustius autem, auctor certissimus*, an epithet taken over by Bede the Venerable: *Sallustius auctor certissimus*.²¹⁸ Richer of Reims, a pupil of Gerbert of Aurillac at the end of the tenth century, quotes the speech of Catiline directly from Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* 58.11 (*nos pro patria pro libertate pro uita certamus*) in the following way: *pro patria, pro uita, pro libertate certandum asserens*. At the beginning of the twelfth century, the anonymous *Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris* also frequently quoted Sallust.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Hirsch (1684: 10, 12). See also Peil (1983: 352); Peil (1985: 17–89); Nemerkenyi (1998–1999: 81–90).

²¹⁵ See Sandys (1958: 658–9); Reynolds (1983c: 341–9).

²¹⁶ See Höhne (1927: 72–82, 92–7); Zimmermann (1929: 28–30, 34–8, 42–3); Pabón (1933: 78–101).

²¹⁷ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 56, 230; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 5, 54, 188. See also Grabmann (1936: 1–24); Kurfess (1937: 341–56); Pavan (1960: 637–46); Hagendahl (1966: 509–16); Markus (1983: V.1–21).

²¹⁸ Bede the Venerable, "In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII," *CCSL* 119, 278. See also Lehmann (1927: 195).

²¹⁹ Richer of Reims, "Historiae," *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 66; "Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 58, passim. See also Latouche (1929: 289–305); Power (1961: 367–9); Schneider (1965); Hoffmann (1998: 482–508).

As regards the topoi of classical historiography, Sallust's key terms of decline include *ambitio*, *avaritia*, *luxuria* and *superbia*, related to the classical Greek notion of *hybris*.²²⁰ The exact opposites of these terms figure in the *Admonitions* at Chapter Ten, *De pietate et misericordia, ceterisque uirtutibus: Sis misericors omnibus uim patientibus... Patiens esto ad omnes, non tantum potentes, sed etiam potestate carentes. Sis denique fortis, ne te prosperitas nimis eleuet, aut aduersitas deiciat. Sis quoque humilis, ut deus te altum faciat hic et in futuro. Sis uero modestus, ut ultra modum neminem punias uel dampnes. Sis mitis, ut nunquam iustitie repugnes. Sis honestus, ut nunquam alicui spontaneum inferas dedecus. Sis pudicus, ut cunctos libidinis fetores, sicut stimulum mortis euites*.²²¹ This enumeration of virtues often appears in patristic, Carolingian and medieval authors such as Leo the Great (*Deinde ait Dominus: "Beati mites, quoniam ipsi haereditate possidebunt terram"* (Matthew 5.4). *Mitibus atque mansuetis, humilibus ac modestis, et ad omnium iniuriarum tolerantiam praeparatis, possidenda terra promittitur*), Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel (*Memoria timoris Domini facit hominem cautum, modestum, iustum, rectum et honestum, pium, benignum, misericordem, prudentem, humilem, mitem, sobrium et in omnibus actionibus temperatum et prouidum. E contrario mentis obliuio facit hominem stultum, incautum, insensatum, fatuum, improuidum, iniustum, iniuriosum, iracundum, inuidum, impurum, immitem, incontinentem, irrisorem, detractorem, inflatum, superbum, elatum, uanum, et in omnibus omnino actionibus deprauatum hominem, facit et miserum. Non enim ad memoriam Dominum suum et praecepta eius reducit; et ideo uelut caecus et errans peccat et perit*) and Thangmar of Hildesheim (*Mirum nempe in modum uir iste omnibus omnia factus, inter diuites et pauperes, inter elatos et humiles, auctorabili quadam modestia medius incedebat; et utrobique iuste prouidus, nec mitibus intractabilis, nec proteruis despiciabilis apparebat*).²²²

Apart from the pioneering studies of József Balogh, the medieval idea of Rome and the use of Roman antiquity in the *Admonitions* have not been subject to systematic inquiry either. To some extent, the work also exploits the Latin classics to adapt the medieval idea of Rome according to the Carolingian and Ottonian tradition. The rhetorical devices featuring the contemporary idea of Rome appear clearly in several passages of the *Admonitions* of extraordinary importance. For instance, playing with the etymology of the ancient Latin term *augustus* in Chapter Two, On the Reverence for the Clerical Order, is one of these devices. The author refers to this epithet to emphasize the point that it is a royal duty to defend and reinforce the body of the Church: *Ac per hoc fili mi*

²²⁰ See Oppermann (1958: 185–96); Stewart (1968: 298–317); Tiffou (1977: 349–60); Conley (1981: 379–82); Korpany (1983: 61–71).

²²¹ *SRH* 2, 627. See Balogh (1927b: 452–61).

²²² Leo the Great, "Tractatus," *CCSL* 138A, 586; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti," *PL* 102, 809; Thangmar of Hildesheim, "Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis," *MGH: Scriptores* 4, 781. See also Tietz (1997: 113–32).

*florente studio debes inuigilare in sancta ecclesia de die in diem, ut potius augmentum capiat, quam detrimentum patiatur. Unde quidem in primis reges augusti dicebantur, quia augebant ecclesiam. Hoc et tu facias, ut tua corona laudabilior et uita beatior ac prolixior habeatur.*²²³ The expression *florente studio* may have its antecedents in Cicero (*Brutus* 95.327: *si illum flagrantem studio et florentem facultate audire potuisses*) and Vergil (*Georgica* 4.563–4: *illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat/ Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti*, quoted in Priscian's grammar), and at the beginning of the *Philosophiae consolatio* of Boethius (*Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi*). Later in the eleventh century, Adam of Bremen used the expression *florentissimo studio*.²²⁴ Parallels to the warning *debes inuigilare* again occur in Cicero (*Philippicae* 8.10.30: *Omnes id quidem facere debebamus... uigilare, adesse animo*) and Justinian (*Digesta* 1.15.3: *Sciendum est autem praefectum uigilum per totam noctem uigilare debere*), as well as in Saint Augustine (*uigilare debet lectoris intentio*, quoted by Bede the Venerable) and Hincmar of Reims (*debet inuigilare*).²²⁵

The entire phrase *ut potius augmentum capiat, quam detrimentum patiatur* had a lasting career in patristic and medieval Latin: its various forms figure in Saint Ambrose (*neque enim caro uel detrimentum diuinitati adferre potuit uel augmentum*), Saint Augustine (*litigat ille qui aduersarium suum uult detrimentum pati, se augmentum*), Gregory the Great (*nec detrimentum recipit nec augmentum*), Isidore of Seville (*Quod diu in hac uita uiuitur, quaeritur utrum augmentum an rectius detrimentum dicatur. Sed quomodo possit recte dici augmentum quod per dimensiones aetatum ad mortis tenditur detrimentum?*), John Scottus Eriugena (*Mouetur enim per tempora et aetates, augmentum et detrimentum sui patiendo*), Hincmar of Laon (*non ecclesiae infero detrimentum, imo statui eius confero augmentum, quin et reipublicae addo expeditibile adminiculum*), Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Quae enim tradita sunt in catholica ecclesia neque augmentum, neque detrimentum admittunt*), and Odo of Cluny (*Omnis rei principium tendit ad augmentum, dehinc ad detrimentum deurgit*).²²⁶ The second part of the phrase (*quam detrimentum patiatur*) has further parallels in the Bible (Matthew

²²³ *SRH* 2, 622. See Bartoniek (1934: 314–31); Balogh (1938c: 389–98); Uhlirz (1951); Karpat (1961: 225–348).

²²⁴ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 296, *GL* 3, 192; Boethius, "Philosophiae consolatio," *CCSL* 94, 1; Adam of Bremen, "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 69.

²²⁵ Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," *CCSL* 32, 107; Bede the Venerable, "Explanatio Apocalypseos," *CCSL* 121A, 227; Hincmar of Reims, "De diuortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae," *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 104.

²²⁶ Saint Ambrose, "Apologia David altera," *CSEL* 32.2, 377; Saint Augustine, "Sermones," *PL* 39, 1594; Gregory the Great, "Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam," *CCSL* 142, 363; Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," *CCSL* 111, 327; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," *PL* 122, 802; Hincmar of Laon, "Opuscula et epistolae," *PL* 124, 981; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, "Interpretatio synodi VII generalis," *PL* 129, 435; Odo of Cluny, "Collationes," *PL* 133, 582.

16.26: *animae uero suae detrimentum patiatur*, 1 Corinthians 3.15: *si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur*, and 2 Corinthians 7.9: *ut in nullo detrimentum patiamini ex nobis*) but also in numerous classical Latin authors such as Caesar (*De bello ciuili* 1.5.3, 1.7.5 and 3.46.4), Cicero (*In Catilinam* 1.2.4 and *Pro Milone* 26.70), Sallust (*De coniuratione Catilinae* 29.2), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 3.4.9, 6.19.3 and 28.44.10), Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 71.10), Tacitus (*Annales* 4.19.2) and Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.17.4), and also in the legal corpus of Justinian (*Digesta* 11.7.12, 19.2.45, 21.1.23 and 42.8.25). The term also appears later in the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* of Saint Gerard in Hungary: *ne ordo patris nostri Sancti Benedicti in scientiis liberalibus detrimentum patiatur*.²²⁷

The conjunction of *reges* and *augusti* reveals the author's knowledge of the Roman past through the filter of patristic and early medieval authorities. The relevant statements by Saint Jerome (*sicut apud Romanos "Caesares" et "Augusti" reges eorum appellantur – a primo Gaio "Caesare" et secundo adoptiuo eius Octauiano, qui postea "Augustus" est nominatus*) and Isidore of Seville (*apud nos Augusti appellantur reges, cum propriis nominibus censeantur*) were both quoted by Hrabanus Maurus; Bede the Venerable also uses the same conjunction in his chronology of the Roman emperors (*Octavianus Caesar Augustus Romanorum secundus regnauit an. LVI et mensibus VI, a quo Augusti appellati reges Romanorum*). Apart from the *Admonitions*, the term *augustus* also appears in an eleventh-century setting in the legends of Saint Stephen of Hungary: in the *Legenda maior* (*sororem Romane dignitatis augusti, uidelicet Heinrichi* and *Romane dignitatis augusto Heinricho pio*, both quoted verbatim in Hartvic's legend) and in the *Legenda minor* (*Heinricho Romanorum augusto*).²²⁸

The *Admonitions* elaborates on the etymology of the epithet *augustus*, deriving from the verb *augeo*: *augusti dicebantur, quia augebant ecclesiam*. The same etymology figures in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (9.3.16: *Augustus ideo apud Romanos nomen imperii est, eo quod olim auferent rempublicam amplificando*), in Bede the Venerable (*Qui uocabulum Augusti perfectissime complens utpote suos et augescere desiderans et ipse augere sufficiens*, quoted by Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel), in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* (*tunc primum Augustus eo, quod rem publicam auxerit*) and in the poetry of Sedulius Scottus (*Augusto domino centenas perfero grates:/ Augeat Augustum dextra beata dei*).²²⁹ The author also alludes to the etymology of the

²²⁷ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 483.

²²⁸ Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV," *CCSL* 75, 403; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 7.6.43; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri viginti," *PL* 110, 795; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 51; Bede the Venerable, "De temporum ratione liber," *CCSL* 123B, 494; "Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 384, 389; Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 415, 423; "Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 399. See also Graf (1882: 308–31); Strothmann (2000: 59–72).

²²⁹ Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," *CCSL* 120, 45; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum," *PL* 102, 23; Paul the Deacon, "Historia Romana," *MGH*:

word *augustus* in Chapter Four, On Honoring Magnates and Warriors (*augmentatores marciarum*). Cassiodorus also applies a similar etymology of *auctor* and *augmentator* (*Hunc prouectus sui auctorem meruit, ut nos augmentatores dignissime reperiret*).²³⁰

Nevertheless, the application of the classical Latin term *augustus* to the ideal king is supplemented in the *Admonitions* with the royal image from the Old Testament. Speaking of the devotion of the kings in the Old Testament, Chapter Nine, On the Observance of Prayer, declares the following: *Hac quidem oratione antiqui utebantur reges, tu quoque hac eadem utere, ut deus cuncta uitia a te auferre dignetur, ut inuictissimus rex a cunctis nomineris*. The *antiqui reges* refers to the Old Testament kings. In terms of the combination of Biblical imagery and the influence of classical Latin, what makes this reference more interesting is that the author's use of the expression *oratione... utebantur* is clearly classical, reflecting the vocabulary of ancient rhetoric: it is already used this way in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.52.65: *Nonne omnes hac utentur oratione?*), in Cicero (*De legibus* 3.18.40: *nec est umquam longa oratione utendum*, and *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* 1.1: *hac oratione utatur*) and in Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 4.10.8: *longa oratione utebatur*). The same expression also appears in Saint Jerome (*perpetua oratione utendum est*), but naturally a semantic shift accompanies the classical syntax: the classical *oratio* becomes a Christian prayer, and the patristic influence conveys this meaning to the *Admonitions*.²³¹ The superlative participle *inuictissimus* has no Biblical and not many classical Latin parallels, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.53.66: *haec urbs inuictissima*) and Cicero (*De re publica* 6.9.9: *illius optimi atque inuictissimi uiri memoria*) being among the very few. However, its various forms appear frequently in dedications to royal patrons—for instance later, in the preface to the chronicle of Simon of Kéza: *Inuictissimo et potentissimo domino Ladislao tertio gloriosissimo regi Hungarorum magister Simon de Keza, fidelis clericus eius, ad illum aspirare* (sic), *cuius pulchritudinem mirantur sol et luna*.²³²

Although the actual history of Rome around the turn of the first millennium shows the picture of political confusion, the image of the ideal Rome, on the basis of ancient Latin sources, had always been fascinating for patristic and medieval authors.²³³ Chapter Six, On the Reception and Fostering of Guests, runs like this: *In hospitibus et aduentitiis uiris tanta inest utilitas, ut digne sexto in loco regalis dignitatis possint haberi. Inde enim primis Romanum creuit imperium, Romanique reges sublimati fuerunt et gloriosi, quod multi nobiles et sapientes ex diuersis illo confluebant partibus. Roma*

Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 49, 60; Sedulius Scottus, "Carmina," CCCM 117, 50. See also Borzsák (1997: 303).

²³⁰ SRH 2, 623; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 329.

²³¹ SRH 2, 627; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 33. See Herrmann (1929: 352–76).

²³² Simon of Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," SRH 1, 141.

²³³ See Blumenthal (1993: 185–96).

*uero usque hodie esset ancilla, nisi Eneades fecissent illam liberam. Sicut enim ex diuersis partibus et prouinciis ueniunt hospites, ita diuersas linguas et consuetudines, diuersaque documenta et arma secum ducunt, que omnia regna ornant et magnificent aulam et perterritant exterorum arrogantiam. Nam unius lingue uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est. Propterea iubeo te fili mi, ut bona uoluntate illos nutrias, et honeste teneas, ut tecum libentius degant, quam alicubi habitent. Si enim tu destruere, quod ego edificaui, aut dissipare quod congregaui studueris, sine dubio maximum detrimentum tuum patietur regnum. Quod ne fiat, tuum quotidie auge regnum, ut tua corona ab hominibus habeatur augusta.*²³⁴

This short panorama on the beginnings of the ancient Roman kingdom resembles Sallust's description in his *De coniuratione Catilinae* 6.1–2: *Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia conuenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alii alio more uiuentes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint: ita breui multitudo dispersa atque uaga concordia ciuitas facta erat.* The stylistic features of this passage of Sallust do not appear in the *Admonitions*, but the content is clearly similar.²³⁵ This parallel is obviously not a quotation, but it helps to define the role of the Latin classics, most eminently that of Sallust, in shaping the so-called *laus Romae* motif in the *Admonitions*. Sallust's text therefore may well have served as an important source of the author's knowledge of the history of ancient Rome. Some historians have argued that this classical parallel was an overinterpretation and the passage was a distant echo of Sallust at best; however, this channel of influence should be acknowledged, since the philological considerations of József Balogh in favor of Sallust's influence have not been satisfactorily and conclusively refuted.²³⁶ Alternative interpretations by distinguished Hungarian classical philologists tended to discover further traces of classical influence on the *Admonitions*, namely those of Florus and some *flosculi* from Horace. However, they also criticized each other's findings as overinterpretations of the classical parallels.²³⁷

However, a closer scrutiny of the occasional classical and patristic antecedents of Chapter Six provides a more detailed insight into the complex ways of classical influence on the *Admonitions*. First of all, the expression *Romanum creuit imperium* has its parallels in the historical work of Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 4.3.13: *creuit imperium Romanum*) and in the *De ciuitate Dei* of Saint Augustine (*Quid enim interest eorum, qui*

²³⁴ *SRH* 2, 624–5.

²³⁵ See Koestler (1932: 9); Hanell (1945: 263–76); Earl (1961: 82–103); Earl (1967: 11–43).

²³⁶ See Balogh (1938a: 263); Balogh (1938b: 326–36); Kardos (1941: 54–5); Guoth (1942: 56); Deér (1942b: 449–50).

²³⁷ See Borzsák (1996: 209); Havas (1997: 181–7); Havas (2001a: 83–103); Havas (2001b: 175–92); Havas (2002b: 5–32); Havas (2004: 2–12). See also Uhrman (2003: 287–9).

*sub Romulo deos coluerunt et olim sunt mortui, quod post eorum mortem Romanum tantum creuit imperium... quod iam Romanum imperium longe lateque crescebat).*²³⁸

The idea of the advantages of a nation of a mixed origin can also be found at the beginning of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* 1.1.9: *Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium data.* Both Sallust and Livy refer to Aeneas in their descriptions of the beginnings of ancient Rome, but the most influential element in the tradition connecting Aeneas to the early history of Rome was probably Vergil's *Aeneis*, where the Trojan origin, that is, the mixture of Trojans and Latins, serves as the starting point of the glorious history of Rome. The character of Aeneas plays a key role in Chapter Six and the passage recalls Vergil's *Aeneis* 12.819–28: *Illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,/ pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:/ cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto)/ component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,/ ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos/ neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari/ aut uocem mutare uiros aut uertere uestem./ Sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,/ sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago:/ occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.* In the *Admonitions*, the concept reaches its climax in the following celebrated part of Chapter Six: *Roma uero usque hodie esset ancilla, nisi Eneades fecissent illam liberam... Nam unius linguae uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est.* Through frequent references to this passage, Chapter Six of the *Admonitions* became the starting point of detailed historical studies that stressed the receptive type of 'national policy' in medieval Hungary.²³⁹

A good indicator of the complexity of the classical influence, transmitted through the authority of late antique grammarians as well as patristic and early medieval authors, is the use of the term *Eneades*. This term figures in classical Latin poets such as Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 1.1), Vergil (*Aeneis* 1.157, 1.565, 7.284, 7.334 and 8.648) and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 15.682 and 15.695, and *Fasti* 1.717). The term is later mentioned and explained from various points of view in the grammatical works of Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.157: *Aeneadae nunc Troiani, aliquando Romani*, and 8.648: *Aeneadae satis longe petatum epitheton*) and Priscian (*a paenultima brevis ante "des" inuenitur in patronymico, ut "Pelias Peliades," "Aeneas Aeneades"; "Aeneadum" quoque pro "Aeneadarum" Lucretius in primo uersu; patronymicum Aeneades secundum analogiam*), as well as in the works of Arnobius (*Venerem Aeneadum matrem*) and the poetry of Prudentius (*Iam purpura supplex/ sternitur Aeneadae rectoris ad atria Christi*).²⁴⁰ Isidore of Seville explains the etymology of a similar term

²³⁸ Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 47, 102, 117. See Lind (1972: 235–83).

²³⁹ See Mályusz (1939: 269); Huszti (1942: 345); Fügedi (1975: 471–507); Bak (1988: 556–8); Bak (1993a: 269–70); Kristó (1993–1996: 91–111); Fügedi and Bak (1998: 3–17); Kubinyi (1998: 187–206).

²⁴⁰ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," GL 2, 65, 292; Priscian, "Partitiones duodecim

(*Etymologiae* 1.7.20: “*Aeneius*” *Aeneae filius*), and Alcuin uses it as a symbol of pagan learning in contrast to Christian revelation (*Utinam euangelia quatuor, non Aeneades duodecim, pectus compleant tuum*). Besides, Alcuin also applies the term in accord with the grammatical tradition: *Haec saepe ab auis fiunt et a conditoribus, ut Iliades, Aeneades and Plena oratio: Virgilius Aeneadas cecinit. “Virgilius” igitur et “Aeneadas” et “cecinit” haec tria separata aliquid per se significant: “Virgilius” hominem, “Aeneadas” gentem, “cecinit” actum.*²⁴¹ Another branch of the Carolingian grammatical tradition, the commentaries on Donatus (*Ars Laurehamensis* and Sedulius Scottus) and Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus’ excerpts quote Priscian’s statement verbatim: *a paenultima brevis ante des inuenitur in patronomico, ut Pelias Peliades, Aeneas Aeneades*. Finally, the term also appears in the Leonine hexameters of the life of Saint Willibrord: *Est sortitus auos Anchise stemate claros, / Aeneadam flores, maris et terrae domitores.*²⁴²

The expression *unius linguae* has an isolated classical parallel (Seneca, *Controversiae* 9.3.13: *qui non fuerunt contenti unius linguae eloquentia: cum Latine declamauerant, toga posita sumpto pallio quasi persona mutata rediebant et Graece declamabant*) but occurs several times in Saint Augustine (*Nouerant enim homines idiotas fuisse, unius tantum linguae; et mirabantur ac stupebant, quod unius linguae homines, uel ut multum duarum, linguis omnium gentium loquerentur*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 9.1.3: *Unde et propter obscuritatem sanctarum Scripturarum harum trium linguarum cognitio necessaria est, ut ad alteram recurratur dum siquam dubitationem nominis uel interpretationis sermo unius linguae adtulerit*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus) and Remigius of Auxerre (*ut cum modo sint unius linguae, fiant multarum*).²⁴³ The combination of the adjectives *imbecille et fragile* in the same sentence have their classical antecedents in Cicero (*Tusculanae disputationes* 5.1.3: *humani generis imbecillitatem fragilitatemque extimescere*) and patristic ones in Lactantius (*hominem nimis imbecillum et fragilem nasci*), Saint Jerome (*quotienscumque humana fragilitas suae relinquitur imbecillitati*), Boethius (*imbecillitas... fragilitas*), Cassiodorus (*imbecilles fragilesque*) and Isidore of Seville (*imbecillem et fragilem fidem animae*, quoted again by Hrabanus Maurus). The expression *regnum imbecille*, on the other hand, also appears in Saint Jerome (*diuisum enim in quattuor partes regnum imbecillius fuit*).²⁴⁴ The

versuum Aeneidos principalium,” *GL* 3, 482; Arnobius, “Adversus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 163–4; Prudentius, “Carmina,” *CCSL* 126, 92.

²⁴¹ Alcuin, “Epistolae,” *PL* 100, 442; Alcuin, “Grammatica,” *PL* 101, 860; Alcuin, “De dialectica,” *PL* 101, 974.

²⁴² “Ars Laurehamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem,” *CCCM* 40A, 18; Sedulius Scottus, “In Donati artem maiorem,” *CCCM* 40B, 87; Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, “Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani,” *PL* 111, 631; “Vita s. Willibrordi metrica,” *AASS Novembris* 3, 485.

²⁴³ Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” *PL* 38, 946; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 435; Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *PL* 131, 416.

²⁴⁴ Lactantius, “De opificio Dei,” *SC* 213, 116; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Daniele libri III,”

advice *auge regnum* consists of words that often complement one another in Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 1.35.6: *augendae rei publicae*, 2.6.2: *augentem bello Romanum imperium*, 31.11.12: *ad firmandum augendumque regnum*, 38.48.4: *regna augetis*, and 39.28.10: *et amplificare et augere regnum meum*) and Tacitus (*Annales* 12.29.3 and *Historiae* 5.9.2). Similar constructions appear in Saint Augustine (*sibi datum et auctum regnum*) and in Wipo in the eleventh century (*magis augere quam minuere regnum intentus*).²⁴⁵

Other terms of Roman antiquity also figure in the *Admonitions*, such as *tribunal* and *senator*. Chapter Seven, On the Importance of the Council, declares the following: *In tribunalibus regum consilium sibi septimum locum uendicat*. The expression *locum uendicat* appears in Propertius (*Elegiae* 3.9.12: *Parrhasius parua uindicat arte locum*), the elder Seneca (*Controuersiae* 10.5.28: *locum sibi uindicat*), the younger Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 88.24: *sic et haec quoque liberalium artium turba locum sibi in philosophia uindicat*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.89: *uindicaret sibi iure secundum locum*, and 10.1.121: *magnum sibi uindicat locum*). This classical expression is taken over by Saint Ambrose (*sed ille qui locum sibi in homine uindicauit*) and Murethach's commentaries on Donatus (*Verbum ob hoc sibi tertium uindicat locum... Participium autem merito sibi quintum locum uindicat; Latinus ablatius dicitur casus, quia a Latinis est inuentus; sextus appellatur, quia sextum sibi uindicat locum; proprium sibi locum uindicat*).²⁴⁶ The same chapter of the *Admonitions* calls the royal counselors *senatores*: *Idcirco fili mi cum iuuenibus et minus sapientibus noli consiliari, aut de illis consilium querere, sed a senatoribus, quibus illud negotium propter etatem et sapientiam sit aptum... Ac per hoc quicquid negotii unicuique conueniat etati, in hoc se exerceat, scilicet iuuenes in armis, senatores in consiliis*. The classical Latin antecedents of this formulation include Cicero (*Tusculanae disputationes* 1.18.42: *bene enim illo Graecorum prouerbio praecipitur: "quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat"*, *In Verrem* 2.1.2.4: *rem publicam senatorio consilio maxime posse defendi*, and *In Verrem* 2.1.5.13: *consilia senatoria*), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 32.30.6: *ut satis comperit non ex auctoritate seniorum iuuentutem in armis esse nec publico consilio*), Florus (*Epitoma* 1.1.15: *iuuentus diuisa per tribus in equis et in armis ad subita belli excubaret, consilium rei p. penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate patres, ob aetatem senatus uocabantur*) and Ovid (*Fasti* 5.59–64: *Martis opus iuuenes animosaque*

CCSL 75A, 900; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," CCSL 76A, 777; Boethius, "Philosophiae consolatio," CCSL 94, 67; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 278; Isidore of Seville, "Quaestiones in vetus testamentum," PL 83, 328; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositiones in Leviticum," PL 108, 387. See Balogh (1944: 46–54); Gerics (2001: 111–8); Kosztolnyik (2002: 166).

²⁴⁵ Saint Augustine, "De consensu evangelistarum," CSEL 43, 17; Wipo, "Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris," MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 31.

²⁴⁶ SRH 2, 625; Saint Ambrose, "Expositio Psalmi CXVIII," CSEL 62, 244; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," CCCM 40, 51, 100, 229.

bella gerebant,/ et pro dis aderant in statione suis;/ uiribus illa minor nec habendis utilis armis/ consilio patriae saepe ferebat opem;/ nec nisi post annos patuit tunc curia seros,/ nomen et aetatis mite senatus habet). More importantly, the *Prouerbia Graecorum*, a collection surviving among the works of Sedulius Scottus, contains statements that are strikingly similar to this formulation in the *Admonitions*: *Prudens prudentes in consilium uocat et sine eorum consilio nihil facit, stultus uero in semet ipso cogitat et, quod sine consilio aliorum cito uult, facit... Rex pacificus laeta facie bona diuidit et uniuscuiusque causam diligenter meditatur, et infirmos et pauperes populi non despicens cum seniorum iudicio et consilio uerax iudicia loquitur...*²⁴⁷

One of the most important manifestations of the medieval idea of Rome in the *Admonitions* appears in Chapter Eight, On Sons Following their Elders. It reflects the ancient Roman topos of the *mos maiorum*: *Executio maiorum in regali dignitate octauum possidet locum. Regale ornamentum scio esse maximum antecessores sequi reges et honestos imitari parentes. Qui enim antecessorum decreta spernit patrum, nec diuinas procurat leges. Patres enim idcirco sunt patres, ut nutriant filios, ideoque filii sunt, ut obediant parentibus. Qui patri sui resistit, inimicus dei consistit. Omnes enim inobedientes deo sunt resistentes. Spiritus autem inobedientie dispergit flores corone. Inobedientia enim totius est regni pestilentia. Propterea fili karissime, edicta patris tui, scilicet mei semper tibi sint promptuosa, ut prosperitas tua ubique regalibus dirigatur habenis. Mores quidem meos, quos regali uides conuenire dignitati, sine uinculo totius ambiguitatis sequere. Graue enim est huius klimatis tenere regnum, nisi imitator consuetudinis ante regnantium extiteris regum. Quis Grecus regeret Latinos Grecis moribus, aut quis Latinus regeret Grecos Latinis moribus? Nullus. Idcirco consuetudines sequere meas, ut inter tuos habearis precipuus et inter alienos laudabilis.*²⁴⁸

One of the ancient parallels of the adaptation of this topos is Caesar's speech delivered in the Roman senate in Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* 51.37–8: *Maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere; neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt; postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum uidebatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam inuidere bonis malebant*. The term *maiores* plays an important role in Roman authors, and it seems feasible that one of the most important origins of its medieval use was Sallust.²⁴⁹

The expression *honestos... parentes* is a strongly classical and therefore established Latin term. It appears in Seneca (*Controuersiae* 7.6.1: *Pater noster honestis parentibus natus*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 11.1.85: *homines honestis parentibus ac maiori-*

²⁴⁷ *SRH* 2, 625; Hellmann (1906: 123–4).

²⁴⁸ *SRH* 2, 626.

²⁴⁹ See Bennett (1970: 146); Blösel (2000: 25–97). See also Érszegi (1995: 161–8).

bus natos) and Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 9.298: *ut filii imitentur in omnibus rebus suos parentes*), as well as in Saint Jerome (*honestis parentibus*).²⁵⁰ The term *decreta... patrum* is also strictly established, and *patres* often stands for the Roman senators. It has its parallels in Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 30.2.6, 33.37.9, 37.58.4, 38.51.4 and 39.42.2), Tacitus (*Annales* 1.10.2, 2.43.1 and 3.51.2) and Suetonius (*Diuus Iulius* 16.1, *Diuus Augustus* 44.1, *Tiberius* 71.1 and *Diuus Claudius* 25.1), and also in the legal corpus of Justinian (*Digesta* 50.1.17). This classical term survives in the works of patristic and early medieval authors with a different meaning; there *patres* mostly denotes the Church Fathers: Saint Ambrose (*decreta patrum*), Sedulius Scottus (*rex est iure sacer qui sacra dogmata/ et decreta patrum seruat in omnibus*), Hincmar of Reims (*scripturarum auctoritates et patrum decreta*) and Ratherius of Verona (*sanctorum decreta patrum*).²⁵¹ The expression *imitator consuetudinis* resembles Cicero's Latin (*De officiis* 1.24.83: *consuetudo imitanda*, *Orator* 23.76: *consuetudinem imitans*, and *De re publica* 2.20.35: *huius populi consuetudinem uideretur imitatus*) but it also appears in Priscian (*Hanc tamen consuetudinem Latini habuerunt Aeoles imitantes*), as well as in Saint Jerome (*imitatur consuetudinem prophetarum*) and Bede the Venerable (*Quem legalium morem sacrorum etiam nunc ecclesiae consuetudo non ignobilitate imitatur*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).²⁵² Similarly, the term *inter alienos* has its parallels in Ciceronian (*De oratore* 3.6.23), patristic (Saint Ambrose) and Carolingian Latin (Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus).²⁵³

The formula *Grecis moribus* has an exceptionally rich history in both classical and patristic Latin. It figures in various forms in such classical authors as Cicero (*De oratore* 2.84.341, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.4.7 and *In Verrem* 2.1.26.66), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 10.47.3), Petronius (*Satyrica* 111.2), Suetonius (*Nero* 12.3), Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 2.247, 3.691, 11.213 and 12.170), Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.18.4), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 3.292) and Priscian.²⁵⁴ It also appears in patristic authors such as Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine (*Cum uero iniustus est rex, quem tyrannum more Graeco appellauit*), as well as Bede the Venerable.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Saint Jerome, "Adversus Jovinianum," *PL* 23, 276.

²⁵¹ Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," *CSEL* 32.1, 182; Hellmann (1906: 53); Hincmar of Reims, "De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae," *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 131; Ratherius of Verona, "Praeloquia," *CCCM* 46A, 107.

²⁵² Priscian, "Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium," *GL* 3, 467; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," *CCSL* 73, 430; Bede the Venerable, "De temporum ratione liber," *CCSL* 123B, 455; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," *CCCM* 44, 314.

²⁵³ Saint Ambrose, "De officiis," *CCSL* 15, 43; Alcuin, "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus," *PL* 101, 943; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum," *PL* 109, 980.

²⁵⁴ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 239, 290.

²⁵⁵ Saint Ambrose, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 82.1, 113; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 55, 92; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 54; Bede the Venerable, "De temporum ratione liber," *CCSL* 123B, 330. See

The passage (*Quis Grecus regeret Latinos Grecis moribus, aut quis Latinus regeret Grecos Latinis moribus? Nullus*) can be interpreted in two contexts. First, in the framework of the ancient Roman concepts of *gens*, *pupulus* and *natio*.²⁵⁶ Second, in the light of the recent developments around the turn of the first millennium. Following the marriage of Emperor Otto II and the Byzantine Princess Theophano in 972, the heritage of *Graeci* and *Latini* was often highlighted in the sources. Otto II, for instance, called Rome *maxima Romulea urbe* in a charter issued in favor of his wife: *Unde et ego Otto superno numine imperator augustus, domino gratissima sua mihi suffragante clementia, consultu magni et sanctissimi genitoris nostri Ottonis piissimi imperatoris augusti dei que et sancte aecclēsie imperii quoque nostri fidelium, Theophanu, Iohannis Constantinopolitani imperatoris neptim clarissimam, in maxima Romulea urbe, sancto summoque principe beato Petro apostolo uotis nostris fauente domnique Iohannis sanctissimi et uniuersalis papae tertii decimi benedictione prosequente, in copulam legitimi matrimonii consortiumque imperii despondere ac fausto et felici auspicio Christo propitiante coniugem decreui assumere*.²⁵⁷ In 984, referring to the origin of Otto III, son of Otto II and Theophano, Gerbert of Aurillac asked the following in a letter composed in the name of Adalbero of Reims to Egbert of Trier: *Forte quia Grecus est, ut dicitis, more Grecorum conregnantem instituere uultis?* The question in the *Admonitions* (*Quis Grecus regeret Latinos Grecis moribus*) is a striking echo of Gerbert's question regarding Greek ways of rulership. The term 'Greek' means Byzantine in this context, as it does presumably in the *Admonitions* as well.²⁵⁸

The terms 'Greek' and 'Latin', 'Byzantine' and 'Roman', however, were not necessarily dichotomous antitheses in the period. At the marriage of Otto II and Theophano, the *pantokrator* table of the *Capella sancta sanctorum* of Lateran displayed the following poem: *Dat scola Greca melos et plebs Romana susurros,/ Et uariis modulis dat scola Greca melos./ Kyrie centuplicant et pugnīs pectora pulsant/ Christe faueto! tonant, Kyrie centuplicant*. The so-called *Versus Scoti cuiusdam de alphabeto*, surviving in eleventh-century manuscripts, expresses the same idea of a symbolic marriage of Byzantine and Roman culture: *Sumpsit ab artigraphis Augusti tempore Graecis/ Me florens studiis Romana peritia claris...*²⁵⁹ Scholars have also detected the traces of this optimistic view in the sarcophagus of King Stephen of Hungary in Székesfehérvár, and suggested that its artistic models were taken from Aachen as well as from Constantino-

also Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 44, 352.

²⁵⁶ See Deér (1993–1996: 11–53); Szűcs (1993–1996: 75–90); Tugene (2001: 53–8); Geary (2002: 41–62).

²⁵⁷ Theodor von Sickel, ed., *MGH: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 2.1, *Ottonis II. diplomata* (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), 28–30. See also McKitterick (1995: XIII.53–74); Irmscher (1997: 207–29).

²⁵⁸ Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 49. See also Balogh (1927a: 9); Bezzola (1956: 65–104); Erkens (1993: 283); Havas (2002a: 49–62); Kapitány (2003: 17–37).

²⁵⁹ See Klein (1876: 468); Messerer (1975: 837–64); Hamilton (1979: I.5–26); Berschin (1980: 222–6); Leyser (1995: 1–27).

ple.²⁶⁰ Although these developments are in the background of its composition, the passage in the *Admonitions* does not propose the merging of Greek and Latin customs. On the contrary, it is closer to the pragmatic point of view expressed for instance by Landulf, chronicler of Milan in the eleventh century, who reports on suspicious Greek bishops who visited Milan around 1000: *Quod factum Graeci episcopi, archiepiscopi, sacerdotes perplurimum, quod eo in tempore curiae insistebant, mirantes, erga Latinos tantam religionem minime fore credentes, permultum beatum Ambrosium benedicentes dicebant...*²⁶¹ The imperial *Rompolitik* was not so idealistic either, partly because the policy of Otto III looked not only towards Rome but also towards Aachen.²⁶²

The renewal of the ancient theory of a mixed nation, however, led to the acceptance of a 'virtual' Roman world power in the Middle Ages. Its most explicit classical manifesto is the description of Rome's destiny in Vergil's *Aeneis* 6.847–53: *Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera/ (credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uultus,/ orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus/ describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:/ tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento/ (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,/ parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*. Saint Augustine reinforced the influence of this Vergilian passage, quoting it extensively in his *De ciuitate Dei*.²⁶³ Since ancient history was usually tailored to the needs of the present, the idea of an imaginary Roman world power did not always interfere with actual politics in the Middle Ages, but the meaning of Vergil's slogan had perhaps never been as obvious as it seemed in the eyes of late tenth- and early eleventh-century authors. Over the centuries, however, the term *Romanus* had gone through a semantic shift: he was no longer the legionary of the ancient pagan Rome, the *Roma antiqua*, but the citizen of the restored medieval Christian Rome, the *Roma noua*. Nevertheless, influenced by imperial propaganda rather than that of papal Rome, the *Admonitions* presents an ideal image of the pagan *Roma antiqua* without portraying its medieval reincarnation, the *Roma noua* of the vicars of Christ. Surprisingly enough, the Christian Rome has no place in King Saint Stephen's *Admonitions*.²⁶⁴ This is all the more striking because the idea of the Christian Rome, relying considerably on pagan antecedents, already existed. One of the representatives of its later peak was Peter Damian in the mid-eleventh century: *Urbem Romam uniuer sas urbes omni nobilitatis genere praecessisse, et caput orbis fuisse manifestum est. Si*

²⁶⁰ See Deér (1971: 1–56); Bogyay (1972: 9–26); Nagy (1972: 167–84). See also Michałowski (1989: 45–69).

²⁶¹ Landulf, "Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor," *RIS* 4.2, 53.

²⁶² See Schneider (1959: 179–203); Falkenstein (1998); Struve (1988: 424–54).

²⁶³ Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 144. See also Johnson (1945: 95–6); Boler (1978: 83–97); Uglicione (1982: 15–30); MacCormack (1998: 201–2); D'Elia (2001: 374).

²⁶⁴ See Creizenach (1864: 37); Graf (1883: 196–258); Traube (1891: 3–13); Luttor (1937: 22–41); Cecchetti (1953: 75–91); Comparetti (1955: 203–23); Kantorowicz (1957: 82–3); Gössmann (1974: 39–47); Kosztolnyik (1977: 33–6); Gerics and Ladányi (1996: 9–20).

*enim ante Christi Domini natiuitatem consideres, Romanos inuenis rerum dominos; sin post, per B. Petri sedem caput orbis effectum uides; si uiros qui prouenerant in ea, mente reuoluas, consilio cautos, strenuos armis, fortitudine summos, praestantes iustitia, moderatos in rebus omnibus comprobabis. Unum quod ante Christum defuerat, fidei scilicet pietas, per Petrum illata, urbem, quae eatenus in caeteris caeteras superauerat, nobilitauit adeo, ut in hoc etiam caeteras antecedit.*²⁶⁵

In the framework of the concept of *laus Romae*, the idea of the new Rome also implied the theories of the *renouatio imperii Romanorum*, the *translatio imperii* and the *Roma caput mundi* – an expression already appearing in Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* 2.655–6: *ipsa, caput mundi, bellorum maxima merces, / Roma capi facilis; sed Caesar in omnia praeceps*. One of the most popular antecedents of these theories, on the other hand, can be read again in Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* 2.6: *Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur*.²⁶⁶ In connection with these theories on the rebirth of Rome, the terms 'Carolingian renaissance' and 'twelfth-century renaissance' have already become very well established in medieval scholarship and associated with a distinct revival of the ancient classics. Between these two renaissances, the concept of another one emerged: the 'Ottonian renaissance,' named after the Ottonian emperors, especially after Emperor Otto III, who is said to have restored the Roman empire in the eyes of his contemporaries just before the turn of the first millennium.²⁶⁷ The role of the theory on the rebirth of Rome in these models raises the issue of applying the available information on ancient Roman history also to the concepts of *regnum* and *regalis dignitas* around the year 1000. Early medieval authors had already employed classical Latin texts in order to advertise and promote these concepts. Viewed in a broader context of the products and slogans of the medieval crafting of history, such as the various manifestations of the *laus Romae* motif (*renouatio imperii Romanorum*, *translatio imperii*, and *Roma caput mundi*) and its Central European variants, the idea of Rome in the *Admonitions* suggests that the references to ancient Roman history, parallel to Biblical images, served as a justification of political authority.²⁶⁸

Since the kingdom of Hungary officially joined Latin Christianity, the core of the political ideas of the tenth and the early eleventh century, described as Rome-based

²⁶⁵ Peter Damian, "Passio sanctarum virginum Florae et Lucillae," *PL* 144, 1026.

²⁶⁶ See Heldmann (1993: 15–26).

²⁶⁷ See Paetow (1910: 11–2); Lopez (1951: 1–21); Trompf (1973: 3–26); Benson, Constable, and Lanham (1991).

²⁶⁸ See Barker (1923: 45–89); Schramm (1929); Balogh (1932: 152–68); Deér (1938: 107–18); Deér (1942a: 52–148); Erdmann (1943: 412–41); Rand (1943: 236–7, 243–7, 260–2); Hammer (1944: 50–62); Sanford (1947: 52–6); Anagnine (1958); Goetz (1958); Ladner (1960: 3–14); Newald (1960: 168–82); Mohr (1962); Pratt (1965: 25–44); Benzinger (1968: 33–45); Folz (1969: 61–74); Bak (1973: 33–63); Nees (1991: 114–5); Fillitz (1992: 5–12); Görich (1993: 267–74); Fanning (1998: 3–18); Warner (1999: 1–18); Bak (2000: 65–71); Havas (2002–2003: 127–42).

emperors and imperial kingship, left an imprint on the *Admonitions* too.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, as Karl F. Morrison put it, “the identification of the Roman and the Ottonian Empires was not... generally taken for granted, even in the Ottonian chancery. Neither was universality or legal sacerdotalism an inevitable attribute of Ottonian government, least of all in dealings with Rome itself.”²⁷⁰ The Ottonian empire had never become identical with Rome. The medieval idea of Rome in the *Admonitions* can, therefore, only partly be called Ottonian: it was just as much a product of the classical tradition. The usually indirect but clearly existing knowledge of the Latin classics such as Caesar, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil and Livy, read as standard inventories of prestigious historical precedents from the ancient Roman kingdom, republic and empire, contributed to the cult of a ‘virtual’ Rome—a manipulated object of quasi-historical imagination. From the Carolingian period, on the other hand, the presence of these classical authors in the libraries served the study of their language and style rather than the purpose of historical inquiries. Sallust, furthermore, was more important as a moralist and rhetor than as a historian in the Middle Ages. These factors also influenced the ways of tenth-century reception of classical antiquity, literary as well as political, and contributed to the uses of the ancient Roman past in the *Admonitions*.²⁷¹

Furthermore, the *Admonitions* features numerous expressions that resemble classical, patristic and medieval authors. The following is an overview of such expressions and their antecedents.

Preface: *totam meam contriui etatem* – Plautus, *Bacchides* 781: *aetatem conteras*; Terence, *Adelphoe* 869: *contriui in quaerundo uitam atque aetatem meam*; Cicero, *De finibus* 5.20.57: *aetates contereere*; Cicero, *De legibus* 1.20.53: *ut nollent aetatem in litibus contereere*; Cicero, *De oratore* 1.51.219: *totas aetates uidemus esse contritas*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 88.39: *aetatem in syllabis conteram?*; Lactantius: *qui cum aetates suas in studio philosophiae conterant*; Lactantius: *contritis in quaerendo aetatibus*; Saint Augustine: *contrita aetate*.²⁷²

Preface: *contemptio mandatorum* – Cicero, *Philippicae* 8.8.24: *senatus mandata contemneret?*; Saint Cyprian: *dum Domini mandata contemnimus*; Saint Jerome: *contemptis mandatis Dei*; Saint Augustine: *cuius mandata contemnam*; Cassiodorus: *diuina mandata contemneret*; Gregory the Great: *de contemptu mandatorum*; Bede the Venerable: *qui ita Dei mandata contempnunt*; Alcuin: *ex contemptu mandatorum Dei*; Jonas of Orléans: *contemptores mandatorum Dei*; Hrabanus Maurus: *contemptis man-*

²⁶⁹ See Canning (1996: 74–81); SÁGHY (1997a: 437–52); SÁGHY (1997b: 257–8); SÁGHY (2001a: 451–64); ÉRSZEGI (2001: 27–38).

²⁷⁰ Morrison (1969: 375). See also Reuter (1982: 347–74).

²⁷¹ See Avenarius (1956: 343–52); Smalley (1971: 165–75); Munk Olsen (1989–1990: 341–7); Mortensen (1998: 415). See also Nemerkenyi (2000c: 187–201).

²⁷² *SRH* 2, 620; Lactantius, “*Diuinae institutiones*,” *CSEL* 19, 261, 272; Saint Augustine, “*Contra Academicos*,” *CCSL* 29, 45–6.

datis Dei; Hincmar of Reims: *contemptoribus mandatorum suorum*; Odo of Cluny: *ad contemptum mandatorum Dei*.²⁷³

Chapter One: *pro certo scias* – Plautus, *Bacchides* 511: *ut pote quod pro certo sciam*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 25.10.1: *sed, quid rei esset, nemo satis pro certo scire*; Tertullian: *ut homines nolint scire pro certo, quod se nescire pro certo sciunt*; Saint Cyprian: *pro certo scio*; Hrabanus Maurus: *pro certo sciat unusquisque uestrum*; Hincmar of Reims: *pro certo sciatis*; Fulbert of Chartres: *pro certo sciatis*; Adam of Bremen: *pro certo scire*.²⁷⁴

Chapter One: *quod absit* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.33.101: *quod absit a culpa*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.²⁷⁵

Chapter One: *minuere siue augere* – *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.16.23: *ut possit bellum fortitudo minuere, pacem humanitas augere*; Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.39.115: *facultates augere, non minuere oportere*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.66.267: *minuendi aut augendi causa*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.26.1: *ut nec augere nec minuere uideretur belli famam*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 66.16: *aut minuere illam aut augere possunt*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.15: *augere minuere*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 20.8.7: *minuendi et augendi*; Donatus: *augendi minuendiae causa*; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.14.30: *aut se augendo aut se minuendo*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 4.5.4: *minueret atque auget*; Priscian: *augeri uel minui*; Justinian, *Digesta* 15.1.4: *cum serui peculium totum adimere uel augere uel minuere dominus possit*; Saint Ambrose: *Hoc igitur impossibile eius plenitudinis est, quae minuere se et augere non potest, non infirmitatis, quae in eo quod se auget inbecilla est*; Saint Augustine: *siue cupiditate augendi pecuniam, siue timore minuendi*; Leo the Great: *non minueret Aecclesiam sed auget*; Gregory the Great: *ne eius gemitum augeam, quem minuere consolando debueram*; Bede the Venerable: *Hyperbole est dictio fidem excedens augendi minuendiae causa*; *Ars Laureshamensis*: *siue in augendo uel in minuendo*; Sedulius Scottus: *augendi minuendiae causa*; John Scottus Eriugena: *nec augeri, nec minui*.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ SRH 2, 620; Saint Cyprian, “De lapsis,” CCSL 3, 224; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV,” CCSL 77, 27; Saint Augustine, “Contra Faustum,” CSEL 25, 310; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” CCSL 97, 628; Gregory the Great, “In librum primum Regum expositionem libri VI,” CCSL 144, 182; Bede the Venerable, “In Genesim,” CCSL 118A, 154; Alcuin, “Liber de virtutibus et vitiis,” PL 101, 633; Jonas of Orléans, “Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem,” PL 106, 300; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria in Matthaeum,” PL 107, 805; Hincmar of Reims, “Ad Carolum III. imperatorem,” PL 125, 991; Odo of Cluny, “Collationes,” PL 133, 553.

²⁷⁴ SRH 2, 621; Tertullian, “Apologeticum,” CCSL 1, 90; Saint Cyprian, “Epistularium,” CCSL 3B, 197; Hrabanus Maurus, “Homiliae de festis praecipuis,” PL 110, 73; Hincmar of Reims, “Epistolae,” PL 126, 262; Behrends (see n. 13, 30); Adam of Bremen, “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 26. See also SRH 2, 619: *pro certo sciam*.

²⁷⁵ SRH 2, 621. See also SRH 2, 619, 623.

²⁷⁶ SRH 2, 621; Donatus, “Ars grammatica,” GL 4, 401; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 2, 58; Saint Ambrose, “Epistulae,” CSEL 82.1, 188; Saint Augustine, “Contra Julianum,” PL

Chapter One: *Hoc ne fiat, principaliter cura* – Justinian, *Digesta* 50.16.189: *et curaret ne fiat*; Saint Augustine: *ut hoc ne fiat*; Cassiodorus: *hoc ne fiat*; Alcuin: *ut hoc ne fiat*.²⁷⁷

Chapter Five: *capitalis sententiae reus* – Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.2.38.94: *rei capitalis reum*; Justinian, *Digesta* 16.3.31: *reus capitalis iudicii*.²⁷⁸

Chapter Seven: *De magnitudine consilii* – Cicero, *De oratore* 2.74.299: *Ut apud Graecos fertur incredibili quadam magnitudine consili atque ingeni Atheniensis ille fuisse Themistocles*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 5.8.23: *cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, diuina animi, ingeni, consili magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque uirtute* (quoted by Sedulius Scottus); Cicero, *Philippicae* 11.12.28: *C. Cassius, pari magnitudine animi et consili praeditus*; Widukind: *Pater autem uidens prudentiam adolescentis et consilii magnitudinem reliquit ei exercitum et militiam*.²⁷⁹

Chapter Seven: *defenditur patria* – Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.642: *ac uirtute uelint patriam defendere terram*; Cicero, *De domo sua* 8.19: *ad patriam defendendam*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 8.3.8: *patriam defendimus* (quoted by Sedulius Scottus); Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 24.32.4: *patriam defendi*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 2.7.16: *patriam defendere*; Cassiodorus: *patriae defensio*; Paul the Deacon: *patriae defensor*; Alcuin: *Nec ualuit propriis patriam defendere scutis*; Hincmar of Reims: *patriam fortiter et iuste contra aduersarios defendere*; Wipo: *defensorem patriae*; Adam of Bremen: *eorum patriam canes defendunt*.²⁸⁰

Chapter Seven: *propelluntur inimici* – Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 31.75: *nunc ab sese inimicitias odiumque propulset*; Cicero, *Pro Murena* 1.2: *inimicorum impetus propulsare possim*; Arnobius: *ut a nobis aduersa atque inimica propellant*.²⁸¹

Chapter Seven: *castra aduersariorum* – Caesar, *De bello ciuili* 1.77.1: *aduersario-*

44, 747; Leo the Great, “Tractatus,” *CCSL* 138A, 516; Gregory the Great, “Registrum epistularum,” *CCSL* 140A, 516; Bede the Venerable, “De schematibus et tropis,” *CCSL* 123A, 161; “Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem,” *CCCM* 40A, 233; Sedulius Scottus, “In Donati artem maiorem,” *CCCM* 40B, 385; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” *PL* 122, 867.

²⁷⁷ *SRH* 2, 621; Saint Augustine, “In Iohannis euangelium tractatus,” *CCSL* 36, 637; Cassiodorus, “De orthographia,” *GL* 7, 147; Alcuin, “Commentaria in sancti Joannis euangelium,” *PL* 100, 972.

²⁷⁸ *SRH* 2, 624.

²⁷⁹ *SRH* 2, 625; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectaneum miscellaneum,” *CCCM* 67, 241; Widukind, “Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 60, 27.

²⁸⁰ *SRH* 2, 625; Cassiodorus, “Variarum libri XII,” *CCSL* 96, 115; Paul the Deacon, “Historia Romana,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 49, 29; Alcuin, “Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis,” *PL* 101, 815; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectaneum miscellaneum,” *CCCM* 67, 243; Hincmar of Reims, “De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae,” *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 259; Wipo, “Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 19; Adam of Bremen, “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 248.

²⁸¹ *SRH* 2, 625; Arnobius, “Aduersus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 130.

rum in castra; Saint Ambrose: *in aduersarii castris*; Hrabanus Maurus: *castra aduersarii*.²⁸²

Chapter Seven: *exprimi debent et poliri* – Cicero, *Pro Archia* 12.30: *nonne multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam?*; Prudentius: *Iunonis iram si polite expresserit?*²⁸³

Chapter Seven: *norma sapientie* – Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 5.18: *quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes*; Saint Jerome: *sapientiae columen et norma Catonianae seueritatis*; Hrabanus Maurus: *sapientiae normam*.²⁸⁴

Chapter Nine: *cursum etatis tue uite* – Cicero, *In Catilinam* 4.8.17: *cursum hunc otiosum uitae suae*; Cicero, *Cato maior de senectute* 10.33: *Cursus est certus aetatis*; Cicero, *De domo sua* 32.86: *cursum uitae conficere*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 5.17.48: *aetatis cursum celeriore* (quoted by Sedulius Scottus); Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 9.16.13: *cursum omnium aetatis suae*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.2.3: *in omni uitae cursu*; Saint Ambrose: *cursum uitae huius*; Saint Augustine: *cursus aetatis suae*; Cassiodorus: *cursum uitae suae*; Gregory the Great: *cursus uitae hominis*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 18.38.1: *cursum uitae huius*; Bede the Venerable: *ultimam uitae aetatem*; Alcuin: *per cursum uitae*.²⁸⁵

Chapter Ten: *impietate et crudelitate fedatus* – Cicero, *Philippicae* 3.4.9: *non crudelis, non impius*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 14.9.25: *Antoni immanem et foedam crudelitatem*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 14.14.37: *foedissima crudelissimaque seruitute liberatum*; Cicero, *De prouinciis consularibus* 2.3: *foedissime crudelissimeque*; Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 11.4: *foeda crudeliaque*; Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 52.36: *foeda atque crudelia facinora*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.53.8: *crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis*; Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 2.539: *foedasti: crudeles impiosque fecisti*; Saint Jerome: *magnitudo crudelitatis et impietatis*; Saint Augustine: *crudelitate atque impietate*; Isidore of Seville: *quartum impietatem, quintum crudelitatem*; Bede the Venerable: *Arriana impietate foedauit*.²⁸⁶

Chapter Ten: *sibi nomen uendicat regis* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.5.57:

²⁸² SRH 2, 625; Saint Ambrose, “De benedictionibus patriarcharum,” PL 14, 692; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria in librum Iudicum,” PL 108, 1154.

²⁸³ SRH 2, 625; Prudentius, “Carmina,” CCSL 126, 340.

²⁸⁴ SRH 2, 626; Saint Jerome, “Contra Rufinum,” CCSL 79, 12; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentarii in librum Sapientiae,” PL 109, 706.

²⁸⁵ SRH 2, 627; Saint Ambrose, “De bono mortis,” CSEL 32.1, 704; Saint Augustine, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” CCSL 38, 369; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” CCSL 97, 544; Gregory the Great, “Moralia in Iob,” CCSL 143A, 625; Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 496; Alcuin, “Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium,” PL 100, 876; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectaneum miscellaneum,” CCCM 67, 242.

²⁸⁶ SRH 2, 627; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Esaiam libri,” CCSL 73, 169; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” CCSL 47, 78; Isidore of Seville, “Quaestiones in vetus testamentum,” PL 83, 303; Bede the Venerable, “De temporum ratione liber,” CCSL 123B, 516.

*usitatum nomen Poeni sibi uindicant; Sedulius Scottus: et idcirco nomen liquidarum sibi proprie uendicant.*²⁸⁷

Chapter Ten: *amabilissime* – Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 14.51: *amabilissimum*; Seneca, *Controversiae* 10.5.25: *amabilissimum*; Seneca, *Controversiae* 10.5.25: *amabilissimum*.²⁸⁸

Chapter Ten: *nec ad eternum pertingere regnum* – Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 1.34–5: *aeterna parantur/ regna deis*; Gregory the Great: *ad caelestia regna pertingas* (quoted by Bede the Venerable). The expression *regnum aeternum* is of course common in patristic and medieval Latin.²⁸⁹

As regards these expressions that resemble classical, patristic and medieval authors, it is important to differentiate between direct and indirect quotations and between quotations and common expressions. Some of the antecedents often became part of established expressions that were used automatically without the intention of explicitly quoting an author. It is extremely difficult to define the characteristic features of a quotation, an allusion, a reminiscence, or a simple coincidence.²⁹⁰ It is all the more difficult because Biblical, patristic and classical references frequently overlap and one can hardly establish whether the source is an author's own work or a *florilegium* containing selected passages from classical and patristic texts. Overall, the application of classical references in the *Admonitions* does not aim at the immediate addressee and perhaps not even at a wider learned audience. They are nonetheless important indicators of the author's style and classical training. Nobody knows, however, what the immediate addressee could have learnt from this guidance, because King Stephen's son, Prince Emeric, died in 1031, seven years before the death of his father.

²⁸⁷ *SRH* 2, 627; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40B, 13.

²⁸⁸ *SRH* 2, 627. See also *SRH* 2, 619.

²⁸⁹ *SRH* 2, 627; Gregory the Great, "Registrum epistularum," *CCSL* 140A, 973; Bede the Venerable, "Expositio super epistolas catholicas," *PL* 93, 105.

²⁹⁰ See Löfstedt (1949: 148–64).

CHAPTER THREE

The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád

Saint Gerard's life has received both pious and scholarly attention from his medieval legends, through the formation of critical hagiography, including the Bollandists and Jean Mabillon, to the present day.²⁹¹ Gerard was born in Venice after 977, possibly in the Morosini family—later another Venetian family, the Sagredo, claimed that Gerard was an offspring of their lineage.²⁹² He was given to the monastery of Saint George in the Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice as an oblate.²⁹³ According to the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior*, the monastery sent Gerard to Bologna, where he studied grammar, philosophy, music, and canon law: *constituerunt Gerhardum et Sirdianum, quibus datis expensarum necessariis Bononiam transmiserunt, ubi notabiliter egregieque in scientiis gramatice, phylozophie, musice et decreti omniumque liberalium scientiarum artibus instructi quinto tandem anno reuocati sunt, ipsarum scientiarum libros secum apportantes*. This report, however, is in many regards an anachronistic invention of the hagiographer.²⁹⁴

On the other hand, Gerard himself also mentions various places in his *Deliberatio*, such as Italy, Gaul, Greece, Verona, Ravenna and of course Venice: *Italia non consuevit haereses nutrire, ad praesens in quibusdam partibus haeresium fomentis abundare auditur. Gallia uero felix, quae his munda perhibetur. Graecia infelix, sine quibus nunquam uiuere uoluit. Verona, urbium Italiae nobilissima, his grauida redditur. Illustris Rauenna, et beata Venetia, qua nunquam inimicos Dei passae sunt ferre*. This enumeration is more of a literary device than a list of places he visited. The expression *felix Gallia*, for instance, occurs in a sermon of Leo the Great (*Felix es, Gallia, quae tantos ac tales meruisti suscipere sacerdotes*) and in a hymn of Walafrid Strabo (*Felix Gallia fortibus tropaeis*). The expression *Verona nobilissima* appears later in the Annals of Hildesheim at the year 1117: *Verona, ciuitas Italiae nobilissima*. The expression *beata Venetia*, finally, also occurs in a sermon of Peter Damian: *sed praecipue tu*

²⁹¹ See "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 461–506; *AASS Septembris* 6, 713–27; Mabillon (1739: 133, 301, 415–6, 449, 453); Banfi (1947: 223–41); Banfi (1948: 262–330); Klaniczay and Madas (1996: 113–40); Berschin (2001: 569–72); Jotischky (2002: 241–2, 256–7); Püspöki Nagy (2002). See also Grégoire (1967: 264–5); Canetti (1999: 359–61).

²⁹² See Cicogna (1834: 245–6); Szegfü (1983: 11–8).

²⁹³ See Sansovino (1663: 218–26, 553–4); Corner (1758: 467–85); Lugano (1929: 129–30); Tramontin (1988: 160–6); Rando (1994: 134).

²⁹⁴ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 483. See Schmale (1957: 16–34).

*felix es et nimium beata, Venetia.*²⁹⁵ Gerard's preoccupation with place names, in connection with eminent centers of learning, appears elsewhere in the *Deliberatio* too: *in Platone quippe disputationes quondam apud Galliam constitutus quasdam de Deo Hebraeorum confidenter fateor me legisse.*²⁹⁶ One of his sentences of this kind merits special attention: *Dicat mihi, qui uult, quia multa legi, multa cucurri. In Spania fui doctus, in Britannia eruditus, in Scotia detritus, in Hybernia studui, omnes liberales disciplinas commendaui memoriae, ideo nil lectionis me effugere potest.* The use of the word *quia* in its Biblical Latin sense makes it clear that Gerard is quoting a fictitious adversary. One might risk a hypothesis here regarding his use of the verbs *legi* and *cucurri*. The occurrence of these particular verbs suggests that this sentence might contain a simple word game, applying these verbs as grammatical examples and thus metaphors of intellectual training: *quia multa legi, multa cucurri* might mean that the person whom Gerard is quoting has gained profound expertise in the conjugation of the verbs, that is, in grammar. This hypothesis seems all the more feasible because these two verbs typically serve as grammatical examples, for instance in Boethius (*Tempus secum trahunt, ut est curro et lego, uel cucurri et legi, et quaecunque sunt uerba*) and Priscian ("lego legi"... "curro cucurri").²⁹⁷

Later hagiographers do not mention such journeys that would support the theory of Gerard's actual travels to the places to which he refers in his *Deliberatio*. They do state, however, that he wanted to go to the Holy Land as a pilgrim but never reached Jerusalem, because King Stephen persuaded him on his way that he should stay in Hungary and convert the pagan Hungarians. While in Hungary, Gerard may have met Abbot Richard of Saint Vannes, who was crossing the country during a pilgrimage in 1026. Gerard himself refers to his acquaintance with a certain Abbot Richard in his *Deliberatio*: *In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuinae germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus, qui nunc apud abbatem Richardum, incontaminatum Christi famulum diuinitus eruditum est.* Ademar of Chabannes also reports on Abbot Richard's sojourn in Hungary in his chronicle: *Eo tempore Willelmus Egolismensis comes per Baioariam iter egit ad sepulchrum Domini. Comitatu sunt eum Odo Bituricus princeps Dolensis, Ricardus abbas Verdunensis, Ricardus abbas Sancti Eparchii Egolismensis, et princeps eius et consiliarius eius Giraldus Fanesinus, et Amalfredus postea abbas, et magna caterua nobilium. Stephanus rex Ungariae cum omni honore suscepit et muneribus ditauit.* Another contemporary, Abbot Eberwin of

²⁹⁵ CCCM 49, 51; Leo the Great, "Sermones inediti," PL 56, 1150; Walafrid Strabo, "Hymnus de Agaunensibus martyribus," PL 114, 1085; "Annales Hildesheimenses," MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 8, 64; Peter Damian, "Sermones," CCCM 57, 82.

²⁹⁶ CCCM 49, 41.

²⁹⁷ CCCM 49, 152; Plater and White (1926: 119–20); Blaise (1994: 92–5); Boethius, "In librum Aristotelis de interpretatione editio prima," PL 64, 302; Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," GL 2, 459.

Trier, mentions Richard's intention to visit Jerusalem: *Ea igitur tempestate contigit Richardum Abbatem, uirum perfectis uiris imitabilem, pia deuotionis gratia sancta Hierosolymae uelle inuisere loca.*²⁹⁸

Later Gerard moved to Bakonybél as a hermit. The twelfth-century *Legenda minor* describes his retreat in the following way: *Postquam seruius Domini se solum merens repperit, tumultum populi deuitans in eadem regione heremum, que uulgo Bel uocitatur, petiit, ubi per VII annos ieiuniis dictaminumque exercitiis deditus excepto Mauro monacho solus habitauit.* One cannot attribute much credit to the details of this report, because it reflects a hagiographic topos that also appears in Saint Benedict's life in the *Legenda aurea*: *Postmodum nutricem occulte fugiens in quendam locum uenit, ubi tribus annis hominibus incognitus mansit, excepto quodam monacho Romano nomine, qui sibi sedule necessaria ministrabat.*²⁹⁹ The Annals of Pozsony recorded at the year 1030 that *Gerardus episcopus ordinatur*. Gerard was first bishop of Csanád between 1030 and 1046, in a bishopric founded by King Stephen. The recently established cathedral was dedicated to Saint George, a circumstance that could bear witness to the influence of Gerard's origin from the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.³⁰⁰ Only the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* records the establishment of the cathedral school at Csanád, and its colorful description of Masters Henry and Walter, teachers of *lectura, cantus, grammatica, musica* and *computus*, does not reflect the circumstances of the early eleventh century.³⁰¹ The diocese of Csanád was adjacent to Byzantine territory and Bishop Gerard probably had to deal with heretics as well as Hungarians who supported the program of pagan restoration. He therefore became involved in the political affairs of Hungary (which he called *Pannonia* instead of *Hungaria*, *Ungaria* or *Ungria* in the *Deliberatio*).³⁰² It is significant that even Gerard's strongly disapproving judgment about developments in Hungary is embedded in literary traditions: *Si prophetae falsi nihilominus sunt in terra, non plura, quamquam saepissime plura, et immunda illi narrare possunt, qui uix psalmis auditis in schola cathedras arripuerunt episcopales. De cetero Germania narret, et Pannonia non sileat.* The closing sentence equally echoes the *Disticha Catonis* (1.15: *Officium alterius multis narrare memento;/ at quaecumque aliis benefeceris ipse, sileto*) and Saint Augustine's *Confessiones* (*de quo illo mihi narrauit quod non silebo*).³⁰³ After the death of King Stephen, Bishop Gerard had problematic political relations with Kings Peter Orseolo and Samuel Aba,

²⁹⁸ CCCM 49, 178; Ademar of Chabannes, "Chronicon," CCCM 129, 184; Eberwin of Trier, "Vita sancti Symeonis," AASS Junii 1, 89.

²⁹⁹ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," SRH 2, 472; Th. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta* (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), 204. See also Sörös (1899: 669–76).

³⁰⁰ "Annales Posenienses," SRH 1, 125. See also Kristó (1981: 129–35); Magyar (1998: 161–82); Ságghy (2001b: 469–81).

³⁰¹ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," SRH 2, 492–6. See Riché (1989–1990: 415–6).

³⁰² CCCM 49, 37, 70. See Mezey (1970b: 795–800).

³⁰³ CCCM 49, 70; Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," CCSL 27, 114–5.

which became a matter of intense debate in Hungarian historiography. Finally, Gerard was killed in a pagan uprising in Buda in 1046. In the report of the Annals of Pozsony the following is recounted: *Interficiuntur episcopi Gerardus et Modestus et Petrus rex cum dolo obcecatur et Andreas rex eleuatur*. The Annals of Altaich recorded the Hungarian pagan revolt in the following manner: *Pontifices etiam terrae illius pene omnes hac sunt tempestate prostrati, necnon cum clericis monachorum nonnulli; omnes ergo perseuerantes in fide trucidabantur miserabili crudelitate*.³⁰⁴ As the Annals of Pozsony reported, Gerard was canonized as a martyr together with King Stephen and Prince Emeric in 1083: *dominus rex Stephanus et Henricus filius eius et Gerardus episcopus reuelantur* (for *releuantur*).³⁰⁵

According to the twelfth-century *Legenda minor*, Gerard was always busy writing and reading, even during his travels: *Quando enim homo Dei de loco ad locum proficiscibatur, non quolibet iumento, sed modico utebatur uehiculo, in quo sedens libros quos ex Spiritus Sancti gratia composuerat, relegebat*. The fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* also reports on his daily routine of writing books in the hermitage of Bakonybél: *edificans sibi cellam, in qua dictabat libros, quos propria manu scribebat*. The hagiographic topos of writing also appears in the life of Saint Ambrose in the *Legenda aurea* (*Tantae humilitatis ac laboris, ut libros, quos dictabat, propria manu scribebat, nisi cum infirmitate corporis grauaretur*), and probably originates from classical and patristic literary conventions – similar examples occur already in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res gestae* 15.1.3: *dictando scribendoque propria manu*) and also Saint Jerome (*ut saepe testatus sum, laborem propria scribendi manu ferre non ualeo*).³⁰⁶ Nonetheless, Gerard was indeed really a prolific writer. Besides his *Deliberatio*, he authored at least three other treatises and a collection of homilies. His treatises are not extant today, but he refers to them in the *Deliberatio*: a commentary on Saint Paul's letter to the Hebrews (*secundum mediocritatem meam, in primo capitulo epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos*), a commentary on the first letter of John (*circa mediocritatem meam, ubi loquitur coelestis dialecticus Ioannes*) and a work called *De diuino patrimonio* (*Supra autem hoc in libello de diuino patrimonio, quem nuperrime in tabellis solius ad Andream diuinum fratrem exemplicaui; In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuine germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus*). It is difficult to establish what the title *De diuino patrimonio* refers to, because the term hardly appears in patristic writings, except for a passing reference in Saint Ambrose (*Vides quod diuinum*

³⁰⁴ “*Annales Posenienses*,” *SRH* 1, 125; “*Annales Althahenses maiores*,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 4, 43. See Szegfű (1973: 23–36); Kosztolnyik (1974: 569–86); Szegfű (1979b: 19–28); Kosztolnyik (2002: 271–84).

³⁰⁵ “*Annales Posenienses*,” *SRH* 1, 126. See Klaniczay (2002: 123–34).

³⁰⁶ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 474, 488–9; Graesse (see n. 299, 253); Saint Jerome, “*Commentarii in prophetas minores*,” *CCSL* 76, 300. See Hamesse (1989: 168–94).

patrimonium petentibus datur).³⁰⁷ Apart from some Marian sermons attributed to Gerard,³⁰⁸ an early fourteenth-century manuscript (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 23, fol. 113v) preserves Gerard's closing words to a collection of homilies: *Hic etiam beatus Gerardus de incarnatione domini et de beata uirgine omelias et sermones nouo quodam modo more peroptimo compilauit... Homelie de incarnatione domini et de beata uirgine... Denique sine omni pene librorum sumptu inter gentiles episcopus constitutus in Pannonie finibus a rege eiusdem prouincie christianissimo Stephano quae terminis iungitur pincenetorum* (that is, the Pechenegs).³⁰⁹

Saint Gerard's only work extant today in its entire length is the *Deliberatio*, surviving in a single manuscript that contains this piece exclusively: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6211. According to the recent catalog of the Munich manuscripts by Günter Glauche, the codex is written in Caroline minuscule, dates from the second half of the eleventh century, and has 167 leaves, with a foliation from the nineteenth century. Its provenance is not completely known, because it cannot be attributed to a specific *scriptorium*, but most probably it already belonged to the library of Freising under Bishop Ellenhard (1053–1078). Earlier, Gabriel Silagi formulated a hypothesis about the codex being copied from an *exemplar* in Admont or Salzburg. A possessor's note by a twelfth-century hand at the top of fol. 1r (*liber iste est sancte marie sanctique corbiniani frisingensis*), mentioning Saint Corbinian, patron saint of the diocese of Freising, confirms that the codex belonged to the Freising library.³¹⁰ The codex, containing 167 leaves and an average of twenty-five lines a page, might have taken around seventy days to complete—according to calculations made on the basis of early eleventh-century manuscripts.³¹¹ Karl Meichelbeck discovered the manuscript in the chapter library of Freising in 1724. Since the reputed Jesuit scholar György Pray did not undertake the editorial task, the apostolic ambassador to Vienna, Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi, forwarded the manuscript to the bishop of Csanád, but he did not edit the text either. Garampi then sent it to the bishop of Transylvania, Ignác Batthyány, who eventually had it transcribed and provided the printed text in 1790.³¹²

The full title of the work is *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrium liberalem*. It is a mystical exegetical treatise on an important text of the monastic liturgy, a short passage from the book of the Prophet Daniel (3.57–65): a part of the song of Daniel's three friends who did not obey the command of Nebuchadnezzar to

³⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 75, 120, 153, 178; Saint Ambrose, "Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam," CCSL 14, 288. See Szegfű (1999a: 165–76).

³⁰⁸ Barré (1963: 262–96); Madas (1999: 396–9); Madas (2002: 13–48).

³⁰⁹ Heinzer (1982: 1–7); Heinzer and Stamm (1984: 57–61); Szegfű (1985a: 19–29); Vizkelety (1985b: 83); Kristó (see n. 13, 405–7); Szegfű (1999b: 12–21).

³¹⁰ See Glauche (2000: 16–7). See also Halm, Thomas, and Meyer (1873: 73); Karácsonyi (1894: 10–3); Dürig (1954: 168); Silagi (1967: 17); Vizkelety (1985a: 82); Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1995: 42).

³¹¹ See Gullick (1995: 39–58). See also Skeat (1956: 179–208).

³¹² See Juhász (1930a: 21–5); Vanyasacker (1995: 143–227).

worship the golden statue and were therefore accused of disobedience, sentenced to death, and thrown into a fiery furnace, but came out of the fire with no harm.³¹³ The term in the title, *hymnus trium puerorum*, had a lasting history in the works of patristic, Merovingian and Carolingian authors. Already Zeno of Verona provides a spiritual interpretation of the hymn: *Igitur cum audio tres pueros incensos, prius uehementer horresco, mox deinde eorum particeps optauerim fieri, cum cognosco inter flammam rosculentos hymnum deo cecinisse securos; Ecce pueri sacramento muniti tres numero, sed una uirtute, anhelantibus flammis, camino rugiente non laeduntur. Incensi hymnum canunt; Mors refugiens mutat officium: incensores cremantur, incensis hymnum canentibus flamma blanditur. Deus a creatura uniuersa benedicitur. In tribus una mens, una uirtus, unus triumphus exsultat.* The term also appears in Saint Jerome (*hymnus trium puerorum*), Saint Augustine (*et benedicant in hymno trium puerorum frigus et aestus Dominum*), Sedulius (*Namque trium puerorum in camino canentium ab omni creatura per ordinem benedicendum Dominum generalis hymnus exclamat*) and Fulgentius (*Sed etiam in hymno trium puerorum nihilominus legitur*). The proceedings of the Council of Toledo in 633 refer to the ancient liturgical custom of singing this hymn: *Hymnus quoque trium puerorum, in quo uniuersa coeli terraeque creatura Deum collaudat et quem ecclesia catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat, quidam sacerdotes in missa dominicorum dierum et in solemnitatibus martyrum canere negligunt: proinde hoc sanctum concilium instituit, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniae uel Galliae in omnium missarum solemnitate idem hymnus in pulpito decantetur; communionem amissuri qui et antiquam huius hymni consuetudinem nostramque definitionem excesserint.* (Walafrid Strabo later quotes these proceedings: *In eiusdem loci concilio statutum est ut etiam hymnus trium puerorum ad missam omni Dominica in pulpito cantaretur. Quod Romani propter multipliciter officiorum non faciunt nisi quatuor per annum diebus, quibus lectionum duodecim numerus adimpletur.*) The hymn played an important role in Merovingian hagiography as well (*Cum autem hiemps uel nox ibi intonarent, beatus Vincencianus hymnum trium puerorum canebat, dicens: "Benedicite glacies et niues Domino, benedicite noctes et dies Domino"*). The popularity of the hymn among Carolingian authors is attested by Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, who applies it as a grammatical example for explaining various features of the pronoun in his commentary on Donatus: *Inuenimus tamen, ubi una sine altera in prolixo ponitur sermone, ut est in hymno trium puerorum, ubi frequenter sine pronomine positum inuenitur nomen, ut est: "benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino" et similiter usque in finem. Nam et uno tantum praecedente nomine pronomina posita inueniuntur plurima, ut est: "laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis," usque "et aquae, quae super caelos sunt." Similiter: "laudate Dominum in sanctis eius, laudate eum in firmamento uirtutis eius," usque in finem psalmi: semper pronomina po-*

³¹³ See Stegmüller (1950: 338).

nuntur in uice nominis. Iure tamen semper pronomini praeponitur nomen, quoniam sibi semper significationem retinet plenam, illi uero tribuit semiplenam. Hrabanus Maurus provides a detailed exegesis of the passage. Walafrid Strabo composes a poem on the hymn: *Omnipotentem/ Et benedicant/ Astra polorum/ Solque sororque/ Sic quoque Lymphae,/ Ros pluuiiaeque/ Ignis et aestas,/ Frigus et ardor,/ Nix glaciesque/ Lux tenebraeque/ Arida montes,/ Flumina fontes,/ Omnia uiua,/ Quae uehit aer,/ Cuncta hominum gens/ Semper adorent/ Omne per aeuum./ Cuncta, chorique/ Lumina coeli/ Omnipotentem./ Quaeque supernae,/ Spiritus omnis/ Omnipotentem./ Cauma geluque/ Atque pruinae/ Omnipotentem./ Noxque diesque,/ Fulgura nubes/ Omnipotentem./ Germina colles,/ Pontus et undae/ Omnipotentem./ Quae uehit aequor/ Terraque nutrit,/ Omnipotentem./ Israel ipse/ Omnipotentem.* Finally, Haymo of Halberstadt also speaks about it in his homilies: *Quod hymnus trium puerorum pleniter declarat, qui in camino ignis ardentis soluti deambulantes, non solum Deum benedicebant, sed etiam creaturam ad eum laudandum prouocabant.*³¹⁴

The *editio princeps* of Saint Gerard's *Deliberatio* by Ignác Batthyány is the first of the three editions that represent the milestones in the philological studies on the work in Hungary and beyond. In a detailed *dissertatio praevia*, Batthyány discussed the question of authorship, the literary context and the structure of the work, Gerard's theology and philosophy, and the historical background. His critical notes included lexical remarks, Biblical and patristic quotations, and classical (mainly Ciceronian) textual parallels, as well as liturgical and theological explanations. Interestingly, Batthyány also added linguistic observations regarding the influence of the vernacular Hungarian on Gerard's Latin. Besides praising Batthyány's pioneering undertaking, subsequent scholarship provided further textual notes to the edition and numerous corrections of its readings. The critical evaluation of Batthyány's edition refuted his theory on the influence of vernacular Hungarian and proposed instead that Gerard's Latin reflected his native Italian.³¹⁵ The *Corpus Christianorum* edition by Gabriel Silagi made the text widely accessible in 1978. Based on Silagi's edition, the *Deliberatio* became part of the material for the lexicographic project on the Latinity of medieval Hungary.³¹⁶ After

³¹⁴ Zeno of Verona, "Tractatus," *CCSL* 22, 82, 189, 201; Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 70; Saint Augustine, "Contra Julianum," *PL* 44, 801; Sedulius, "Paschale opus," *CSEL* 10, 222; Fulgentius, "Epistula XIV ad Ferrandum," *CCSL* 91, 392; "Concilium Toletanum IV.," *PL* 84, 371; Walafrid Strabo, "De rebus ecclesiasticis," *PL* 114, 947; Pseudo-Hermenbert, "Vita Vincentiani confessoris Avolcensis," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 5, 121; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Liber in partibus Donati," *CCCM* 68, 91–2; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria ad cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur," *PL* 112, 1151–9; Walafrid Strabo, "De hymno trium puerorum," *PL* 114, 1105; Haymo of Halberstadt, "Homiliae de sanctis," *PL* 118, 757–8.

³¹⁵ Ignác Batthyány, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopalis, 1790), 1–297; Sörös (1902: 579–86); Hóman (1925: 22); Guoth (1938: 176–7); Istványi (1940: 209). See also Meister (1950: 1–9).

³¹⁶ *CCCM* 49; reviewed by Ward (1980: 361–2); Klaniczay (1980: 544–6). See also *LLMAH* 1, xxxvii.

long preparation, the third edition by Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű appeared in 1999.³¹⁷

The approach of philologists has so far proven more rewarding than that of historians in the relevant scholarship on the *Deliberatio*: the philological inquiries have already contributed a great deal to the understanding of the author's peculiar Latinity, style and use of sources. Since Batthyány's edition was hardly accessible and Migne did not print the text in the *Patrologia Latina* (and thus at least did not do irreversible damage to the text either), Western scholarship usually knew of the work from second-hand information before the publication of Silagi's edition.³¹⁸ What Astrik L. Gabriel later called "a jewel of eleventh-century theological literature," had been treated in the nineteenth century as a work of a scholastic author in Hungarian scholarship.³¹⁹ The reviewer of János Karácsonyi's first scholarly monograph on Saint Gerard regarded the *Deliberatio* as a worthless reading from the positivist historian's point of view. Later research discarded this observation and focused on Gerard's 'mystical theology'.³²⁰

In spite of the many accomplishments of previous scholarship, no systematic study has been devoted to the medieval glosses in the Munich manuscript of the *Deliberatio*. Relevant scholarship has not hitherto been able definitely to prove the direct influence of the *Deliberatio* on other texts in Hungary or elsewhere in the Middle Ages (since it exerted virtually no influence on medieval Latin literature); it would be indeed surprising, given the fact that only one of its manuscripts is known today. Apart from an isolated attempt to suggest that Otto of Freising may have known the *Deliberatio*, the only surviving manuscript apparently supported a tacit consensus about a work that nobody read in the Middle Ages.³²¹ This is precisely why the glosses of the Munich manuscript can contribute to the understanding of how medieval readers used the work. All three editions take the medieval glosses in the manuscript into account to some ex-

³¹⁷ Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, ed., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclisiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1999); reviewed by Sulyok (2000: 8–12); Nemerkenyi (2000b: 402–5); Vajda (2002: 176–81). See also Karácsonyi (1974: 213–28); Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, "Szemelvények Gellért Deliberatio-jából" (Passages from the *Deliberatio* of Gerard), *Világosság* 17.2 (1976): 97–9; Sándor V. Kovács, ed., *A magyar középkor irodalma* (The literature of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1984), 615–38, 1141–5; Radu Constantinescu, ed., *Gerard din Cenad: Armonia lumii sau tâlmăcire a cîntării celor trei coconi către Isingrim dascălul* (Gerard of Csanád: The harmony of the light or the interpretation of the song of the three boys dedicated to Master Isingrim) (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1984); Edit Madas, ed., *Szöveggyűjtemény a régi magyar irodalom történetéhez: Középkor (1000–1530)* (Selections of texts for the history of old Hungarian literature: Middle Ages, 1000–1530) (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1992), 28–9, 559–60; Kristó (see n. 13, 188–212).

³¹⁸ See Ivánka (1942c: 497–500); Bloch (1994: 58–77).

³¹⁹ See Novák (1865: 561–83); Mátray (1878a: 25–52); Mátray (1878b: 209–23); Békesi (1896: 364–99); Gabriel (1962: 14).

³²⁰ Karácsonyi (1887: 191–258); reviewed by Pauler (1888: 57–65). See also Hajdu (1902: 381–97); Morin (1910: 516–21); Karácsonyi (1925: 107–11); Ibrányi (1938: 493–556); Erdélyi (1941: 71); Nemerkenyi (2003a: 3–19).

³²¹ Hofmeister (1912: 714).

tent and include them in their critical *apparatus*—naturally, however, their primary interest lies in the text of the *Deliberatio* itself. Besides the scribe's hand, glosses by various hands appear in the manuscript, although they do not provide a wide range of the various types of medieval Latin glosses such as lexical, morphological, syntactic, prosodic or textual.³²²

The glosses in the Munich manuscript usually consist of a couple of words or short sentences only; they give brief paraphrases and excerpts, highlight personal names occurring in the text, specify several Biblical references, occasionally define the author's method, and praise his style. The editors identify more hands, but basically there are two types of gloss in the manuscript. One of them originates from a late eleventh-century corrector who inserted interlinear revisions (superscript above the letter, syllable or word in question) regarding the scribe's abbreviations and orthography, as well as the author's syntax. The second type is provided by a late medieval reader of the *Deliberatio*, whom Gabriel Silagi identifies with the bishop of Freising, Johannes Grünwalder (1392–1452)—his marginal glosses in the codex run from fol. 2r to 116v, but he left the last fifty leaves intact. A survey and interpretation of some of the representative glosses in the order of their appearance in Book One, the shortest of the eight books of the *Deliberatio* from fol. 1r to 10r, provides an insight into the modest but no doubt existing *Fortleben* of Gerard's work.

The interlinear gloss of the late eleventh-century corrector on fol. 2v, for instance, inserts the conjunction *ut* between *Utrumque* and *autem* probably because the following verb *admittatur* is in the subjunctive. The formula *utrumque ut* indeed exists in classical, patristic and medieval Latin (just like *utrumque autem*); the editions of Silagi and Karácsonyi and Szegeő adapt the corrector's syntactic gloss and correct the text accordingly.³²³ On fol. 3v, the corrector added a superscript *d* above the verb *succendit*—Batthyány does not report on the insertion, but Silagi records it, while Karácsonyi and Szegeő assume that the corrector read a grammatically incorrect *succensit* in the text and corrected it to *succendit*. However, there is no need to ponder whether it is an innocent misspelling or a serious grammatical mistake on the part of the author or the scribe: the manuscript clearly reads *succendit*, a present perfect tense just like the neighboring verbs *erexit* and *dedit*. This is how a redundant morphological hypercriticism by a medieval corrector finds its way into a modern critical edition.³²⁴ Elsewhere, the corrector's interlinear notes make *quotiens* of *quoties* and *toiciens* of *tociens*. Whereas Batthyány does not incorporate these corrections into his edition, Silagi and Karácsonyi and Szegeő do. Going beyond the editions, it is interesting that the corrector inserts the nasal consonants and thus makes the words look more classical, but he

³²² See Wieland (1998: 59–60).

³²³ MS 2v; Batthyány 4; CCCM 49, 3; Karácsonyi and Szegeő 8.

³²⁴ MS 3v; Batthyány 6; CCCM 49, 4; Karácsonyi and Szegeő 12. See Reeve (2000: 196–206).

does not standardize *tociens* to the classical form *totiens*, although its counterpart figures in its classical form in the same sentence. No wonder that his apparent lexical inconsistency is addressed differently in the editions.³²⁵ Elsewhere, the silence of the glossators is also informative, as on fol. 5r where one sentence reads thus: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachiis ciceronis astringaris*. Referring to Cicero, the symbol of classical Latin eloquence, in an exegetical treatise is always significant, and his name indeed rarely figures in the *Deliberatio*—if so, generally in a negative context. However, the readers of the codex either overlooked this passage or simply did not care about it, or took it for granted that the author referred to Cicero. In any case, Bishop Grünwalder was probably not the type of careful humanist who would be particularly excited about a reference to Cicero in an eleventh-century exegetical treatise. For him, the text did not serve to satisfy his literary curiosity; rather, it was a starting point for meditation—in fact, in accordance with the intent of the author.³²⁶ Three lines below the reference to Cicero in the manuscript, the text reads *macrobius* but the misspelled Macrobius does not receive more attention either: there is no marginal gloss or interlinear correction. Simply transcribing the manuscript here, the *Corpus Christianorum* edition prints the misspelled version with no comment.³²⁷

In the absence of alternative surviving manuscripts of the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád today, one must leave many of the questions of the glosses open, and conclude instead that the glosses apparently figure at random in the manuscript. Given their nature, one can realize that many passages of the text might well have been glossed, but they are left intact without any mark of interest on behalf of the readers. One cannot, therefore, speak about systematic commentaries but only about occasional marginal and interlinear annotations. The usually grammar-related glosses of the eleventh-century corrector and the absolutely content-related glosses of the fifteenth-century Bishop Grünwalder obviously reveal two types of reader. While the corrector has grammatical and orthographic concerns about the manuscript, Grünwalder is definitely not a philologist type. He seemingly does not care about the textual problems pinpointed by the corrector's hand in front of him. On the other hand, many of his marginal glosses can also be interpreted as additional chapter divisions of the work, whose books are otherwise not divided into chapters, the text simply running from the beginning of a book to its very end without signs of further divisions. The scribe of the manuscript apparently did not follow the learned tradition of dividing a text into chapters, although this tradition had influential proponents such as Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.pr.1: *Nunc tempus est ut aliis septem titulis saecularium lectionum praesentis libri textum percurrere debeamus*; *De anima*: *Tempus est ut quaestionum uarietate di-*

³²⁵ MS 3v; Batthyány 6–7; CCCM 49, 4; Karácsonyi and Szegfű 12. See Stotz (1996: 294–301).

³²⁶ MS 5r; Batthyány 9; CCCM 49, 5; Karácsonyi and Szegfű 18.

³²⁷ MS 5r; Batthyány 9; CCCM 49, 5; Karácsonyi and Szegfű 18. See also Hüttig (1990: 64, 66).

missa dictorum copiosissimam densitatem in quibusdam manipulis colligamus ut fidei calculo numerata horreis memoriae compendiosa breuitate condantur).³²⁸ Grünwalder, however, was probably not glossing the text in order to prepare it for classroom use. He was more interested in individual reading and pious meditation. After all, that is what the work was written for. It remains another open question whether the orthographic and other grammatical features that are glossed can be attributed to Gerard himself or simply to the scribe of the Munich manuscript. Until the unlikely but certainly welcome event of the discovery of another manuscript, however, one must rely considerably on the glosses and the tools of medieval Latin philology in order to explore the textual history of the *Deliberatio* in the Middle Ages. The medieval glosses in the manuscript therefore not only give information about the provenance of the codex but also present a specific case of how the scribe copied the text, how medieval readers read, corrected and commented on it, and how they contributed to its impact from the early reception to the critical editions.

An important issue related to Gerard's literary training has also been largely neglected in previous scholarship, namely the problem of the libraries accessible to him: the monastic library of Venice, the cathedral library of Csanád, the monastic library of Marosvár, and his personal library.³²⁹ The preface to Batthyány's *editio princeps* in 1790 challenges the notion of the *paucitas librorum* and argues for an impressive library culture in the eleventh century.³³⁰ Not much hard evidence supports this contention, however, in Gerard's immediate surroundings. The 982 foundation and donation deed by Doge Tribuno Memmo for the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice mentions liturgical books only (*cum toto edificio, libris, thesauro*), and there is no library catalog surviving from the eleventh century.³³¹ There is absolutely no direct evidence for the holdings of the Csanád cathedral library either, although the probable presence of Greek manuscripts in the Greek monastery of Marosvár in the Csanád diocese and the references to the *Corpus Areopagiticum* in the *Deliberatio* even raised the question of Bishop Gerard's knowledge of Greek. Furthermore, there are hypotheses about Gerard's private library, a personal collection of manuals containing excerpts, which he may have brought along from Italy to Hungary.³³²

The question of Gerard's knowledge of Greek invited numerous valuable scholarly endeavors. The notion of Byzantine influence in Venice in the tenth and eleventh centuries serves as a point of departure for the hypotheses in favor of his expertise in

³²⁸ Cassiodorus, "De anima," *CCSL* 96, 571. See Schröder (1999: 150–3); Ferré (2002: 152–62).

³²⁹ See Békefi (1910: 70–8, 367).

³³⁰ Batthyány (see n. 315, xix–xxv).

³³¹ La Cüte (1929: 599, 633); Luigi Lanfranchi, ed., *Benedettini in S. Giorgio Maggiore*, vol. 2, *Documenti 982–1159* (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1968), 15–26; Damerini (1969: 8–16, 239–40); Ravegnani (1976: 11); Mazzucco (1983: 47); Marcon (1995: 13–28).

³³² See Szegfű (1979a: 3–60).

Greek. One of these theories culminates in a striking conclusion: Gerard may have composed the Greek text of the foundation charter of the Greek nunnery of Veszprém-völgy, issued by King Stephen in 1018 and transcribed by King Coloman in 1109.³³³ Another branch of scholarship departed from the *Deliberatio* itself and attempted to explain Gerard's frequent references to Greek authorities such as Aristarchus, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Galen, Gorgias, Hermagoras, Hippocrates, Menander, Plato, Porphyry, Socrates, Thales and Zeno.³³⁴ Considering the vast philological research on the knowledge of Greek in the Latin West in the Middle Ages, two temporary observations are in order. First, Gerard may have known some Greek, but the scribe of the Munich manuscript may not, and this prompts the problems of interpretation, since he either misspelled the Latin versions of Greek words or left them out altogether. Second, more importantly, relevant scholarship has so far tried to decide whether or not Gerard knew Greek, instead of examining how much Greek he knew.³³⁵

Detailed textual analyses of the literary impacts on the *Deliberatio* have also shown that Gerard was familiar with the Scripture in versions that were different from the Vulgate Bible, through possible liturgical and patristic mediation, and that he occasionally quoted the same Biblical passage in two different versions. The latter could be a result of his method of quoting a Biblical passage by heart or indirectly from a patristic author who used a version other than the Vulgate.³³⁶ Similarly careful textual studies examined the influence of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita on the *Deliberatio*. The *Corpus Areopagiticum*, in the Latin translation by Hilduin and John Scottus Eriugena, and the commentaries of Maximus Confessor in the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, may have been the sources of Gerard's peculiar word choices such as *essentiationis*. The crafting of this term itself in Eriugena's works in turn shows Priscian's influence.³³⁷ Codicological inquiries also contributed to the study of Gerard's access to the works of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. The Hungarian codicologist László Mezey proposed that Gerard may have had access to a part of the *De caelesti hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in the Latin translation of John Scottus Eriugena in a mid-eleventh-century codex fragment (Budapest, University Library, U.Fr.l.m. 9). István Kapitánffy later proved, however, that the fragment was not

³³³ Juhász (1930b: 342–8); Érszegi (1988: 3–13); Vajay (1988: 20–4). See also Cessi (1964: 63–78); Day (1984: 379–88); Nicol (1988: 35–49); Cavallo (1993: 500–8).

³³⁴ See Fekete (1936: 8); Ivánka (1942a: 183–94); Ivánka (1942b: 221–38); Gyóni (1947: 42–9); Ivánka (1949: 22–36); Moravcsik (1956: 14–5, 25); Moravcsik (1967: 330–3); Székely (1967: 291–311); Timkó (1970: 727–32); Jakó (1976: 284–304); Balázs (1980: 283–4); Makk (1990: 11–25); Sóllymos (2001: 48–60).

³³⁵ See Szegfű (1985b: 43–9). See also Laistner (1924: 177–87); Bischoff (1951: 27–55); Steinacker (1954: 28–66); Bischoff (1967b: 227–45); Prinz (1971: 1–15); Irigoin (1975: 425–46); Stotz (1993: 433–51).

³³⁶ See Déry (1991a: 387–9); Déry (1991b: 58–67); Török (1995: 203–9).

³³⁷ CCCM 49, 100: *essentiationis*. See Luhtala (2002: 77–87). See also Lehmann (1923: 81–97); Grabmann (1926: 449–68); Weisweiler (1952: 26–47); Jeauneau (1979: 5–50); Luscombe (1988: 133–52).

in Hungary in the Middle Ages, and that therefore Gerard could hardly have known that particular book from which the fragment originates.³³⁸

A lengthy enumeration of various heresies and the references to heretics in the *Deliberatio* raised the issue of Gerard's position regarding heresies. The abundant scholarship on the issue offered competing views about identifying the heretics Gerard was fighting: the representatives of popular heresies, the Cathars, a Byzantine faction of the Bogomils, or simply the proponents of pagan restoration in Hungary. Others suggested that the mentioning of heretics was a literary convention, an interpretive category, and therefore subject to literary rather than historical analysis.³³⁹ Passages of political relevance prompted discussion about Gerard's standing in political affairs. Scholars suggesting that Bishop Gerard and the bishops of Hungary took a stand against King Peter Orseolo argued that the mentioning of heretics in the *Deliberatio* provided a fictive background to criticize the royal exploitation of sacred ecclesiastical property for secular purposes, an act the bishops saw as a violation of orthodoxy, that is, heresy. While others suggested that Gerard took a stand against King Samuel Aba, there is an apparent consensus about the *Deliberatio* being a valuable historical source as well. However, the question of whether the authors of the legends of Saint Gerard knew the *Deliberatio* is still open. Although the direct influence of the work seems unlikely, Gerard's statements in the *Deliberatio* at least support the credibility of the later hagiographic accounts.³⁴⁰

Having reviewed the most acute philological and historical problems of interpretation, one must turn to the patristic sources of the *Deliberatio*, because Gerard's classical training can be evaluated better against his patristic background. Most of his quotations are of course Biblical, but the identification of his patristic sources is more problematic. The philologist János Horváth observed that Gerard's style cannot be explained with reference to his patristic sources.³⁴¹ While this is true, Gerard's appreciation of the Church Fathers reveals much about his patristic background. He often calls them *perfectores*: *diuini perfectores*, *nostros beatissimos perfectores*, *a perfectioribus*,

³³⁸ Mezey (1978: 65–90); Mezey (1979: 117–22); revised by Kapitánffy (1980: 529–36); Mezey (1983: 36–7); Mezey (1984: 213–25); Kapitánffy (1985: 133–7). See also Ivánka (1959: 205–22); Glück (1979: 259–75).

³³⁹ See Döllinger (1890: 61–2); Fehér (1927: 1–20); David (1939b: 756–61); da Milano (1947: 43–89); Borst (1953: 78–80); Ivánka (1955: 143–6); Rónay (1956: 471–4); Grundmann (1963: 129–64); Redl (1965: 349–66); Szegfű (1968: 501–16); Szegfű (1976: 91–6); Lambert (1977: 35, 347–8); Glück (1978: 189–96); Szegfű (1980: 11–9); Rónay (1980: 577–88); Rónay (1981: 514–25); Constantinescu (1982: 69–83); Stock (1983: 146); V. Kovács (1987: 11–60); Lubac (1993: 251); Klaniczay (1994: 195–6); Angelov (1997: 17–39); Fichtenau (1998: 30); Kristó (1998a: 485–96); Szegfű (1999c: 827–38); Moore (2000: 8–25).

³⁴⁰ See *CFHH* 2, 1027–8; Kristó (1965: 3–57); Kristó (1974: 56–7); Kosztolnyik (1976: 20–32); Kosztolnyik (1981: 46–55); Gerics (1982: 186–97, 299–313); Kristó (1984: 159–75); Kristó (1985: 170–80); Szegfű (1986: 11–21); Gerics (1986: 335–48); Gerics (1989: 431–63); Uzsoki (1997: 17–25); Vizkelety (2001c: 457–65).

³⁴¹ Horváth (1954: 112).

*sanctissimos perfectores, Diuinus noster beatissimus perfector.*³⁴² In a critical remark, Gerard wonders why the Church Fathers never commented extensively on the *hymnus trium puerorum* in the Book of Daniel: *Miror, quor sanctissimi perfectores et ad hoc operam dantes ut queque obscurissima penetrarent, huius himni misterium adgressi non sunt.*³⁴³ The term *perfector* is classical (Cicero, *De oratore* 1.60.257: *perfectorem dicendi esse ac magistrum*) but it frequently appears in patristic, Carolingian and medieval Latin with a different meaning. Interestingly, Gerard's use of the word is closer to its Ciceronian sense: it usually refers to the Lord in patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome (*Sicut in bonis operibus perfector est Deus*, quoted by Bede the Venerable), Saint Augustine (*nullius praecepti contemptor, sed utriusque perfector*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*unde Dominus perfector totius operis sui*). Besides, Gerard's usage closely resembles that of John Scottus Eriugena in his translation of the *De caelesti hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *diuinus noster sanctus perfector.*³⁴⁴ Gerard also calls the Church Fathers *potentes in theoricis, potentes, theologi, diuini perfectores, hiromistas* and *doctores*—and also writes thus: *Igitur stelle celi doctores tropologice ecclesie admittendi.*³⁴⁵ His use of the term *disputatores... diuinos* is classical (Cicero, *De officiis* 1.1.3: *disputator subtilis, orator parum uehemens*).³⁴⁶ The expression *circa sensum theosophorum* again resembles John Scottus Eriugena, who uses the term *theosophi* many times.³⁴⁷

While his reference to Saint Ambrose seems standard (*Sacerdos Christi Ambrosius in nostrum adiutorium*), Gerard adds another term to his reference to Bede the Venerable, calling him *diuinus sacerdos et therapeuta optimus Beda*. The term *therapeuta* occurs earlier in John Scottus Eriugena's translation of the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *Inde diuini duces nostri nominationibus eos sacris dignati sunt, alii quidem therapeutas, alii autem monachos nominantes.*³⁴⁸ Gerard uses the same term when introducing a quotation from Cassiodorus: *peritus ad therapeutas de ipsius incomprehensibili Cassiodorus omni suauius expresserit nectare*. (The sentence otherwise echoes Paul the Deacon: *omni nectare suauius*).³⁴⁹ Elsewhere, he praises the Church Fathers in the following way: *Dionisius et Hireneus, Ignatius et*

³⁴² CCCM 49, 6, 11, 37, 39, 48, 162.

³⁴³ CCCM 49, 38.

³⁴⁴ Saint Jerome, "Adversus Iovinianum," PL 23, 286; Bede the Venerable, "In epistolas septem catholicas," CCSL 121, 188; Saint Augustine, "Sermones," PL 38, 804; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 491; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia," PL 122, 1049.

³⁴⁵ CCCM 49, 1, 2, 22, 81, 91, 144.

³⁴⁶ CCCM 49, 20.

³⁴⁷ CCCM 49, 20; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 50 and passim.

³⁴⁸ CCCM 49, 34, 172; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," PL 122, 1102.

³⁴⁹ CCCM 49, 148; Paul the Deacon, "Historia Langobardorum," MGH: *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, 165.

Policarpus, totius philosophiae uiri sanctissimi, illuminatione perfecti... alii multi imbuti. Similar wordings appear in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.6: *sancti illius praecepti philosophiae*) but especially in Gregory the Great (*perfecte inluminatus*), John Scottus Eriugena (*perfectiorem illuminationem*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*perfecte illuminati sicut apostoli*).³⁵⁰ Finally, Gerard also provides another enumeration: *sollertissimi uiri Eusebius Cesariensis episcopus... Appollenaris... Methodius... splendor doctorum Hieronimus et lux inter rutilantissima celi sidera clarius omnibus lucens.* Not only does a part of the sentence echo a hexameter by Benedict of Aniane (*Expauere quidem rutilantia sidera caeli*), but it also occurs later in the legend of King Saint Ladislav of Hungary (*Eadem etiam hora diei quasi sexta rutilans stella preclari fulgoris stetit supra*).³⁵¹

The terms that Gerard uses to refer to the Church Fathers are transitional between the ecclesiastical and the secular vocabulary of learning. They nevertheless show that he also relied heavily upon the utmost authorities of his age: Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Bede the Venerable and Hrabanus Maurus. Compared to his contemporaries, Gerard's dependence on these authorities is in no way unique.³⁵² Silagi's critical edition highlighted numerous references to patristic authors, such as Saint Ambrose,³⁵³ Saint Jerome,³⁵⁴ Saint Augustine,³⁵⁵ Gregory the Great,³⁵⁶ Bede the Venerable³⁵⁷ and Hrabanus Maurus.³⁵⁸ The textual parallels between Hrabanus Maurus and Gerard show either that the *Deliberatio* contains direct borrowings or that the two authors used the same sources. Gerard also adapts a lengthy excerpt from the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus, inserting only a short phrase of his own, *ut doctus es*, in order to adjust the long quotation to his own conversational style (Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.16.2: *Istas siquidem litteras non ratio humana repperit* – Gerard: *Istas sic quidem litteras, ut doctus es, non ratio humana repperit*).³⁵⁹

As András Bodor has convincingly pointed out, however, Gerard's most important

³⁵⁰ CCCM 49, 35; Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," CCSL 144, 563; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," PL 122, 1112; Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," PL 131, 808.

³⁵¹ CCCM 49, 50; Benedict of Aniane, "Concordia regularum," CCCM 168A, 5; "Legenda sancti Ladislai regis," SRH 2, 526.

³⁵² See Horváth (1954: 110–5); Silagi (1967: 51–62); reviewed by Jacobsen (1967: 282–3); Redl (1968: 384–6); Kosztoľnyik (1969b: 376–86); Coyle (1995: 45–64).

³⁵³ CCCM 49, 172.

³⁵⁴ CCCM 49, 1, 14, 41, 47, 50, 60, 64, 65, 74, 96, 97, 133, 145, 155.

³⁵⁵ CCCM 49, 43, 87, 133.

³⁵⁶ CCCM 49, 174.

³⁵⁷ CCCM 49, 31, 32, 33, 52, 55, 99, 101.

³⁵⁸ CCCM 49, 9, 99, 101, 127, 145.

³⁵⁹ CCCM 49, 148–50. See Jones (1945: 433–42). See also Nemerkenyi (2002: 255–61).

source was Isidore of Seville, especially his *Etymologiae*.³⁶⁰ The extensive manuscript tradition of the *Etymologiae* shows that it played an important role in the education of the tenth century. Gerard's numerous references to the work suggest that one of its copies or some extensive excerpt was present in the monastic library of Venice, the cathedral library of Csanád, or in his private library.³⁶¹ As Bernhard Bischoff observed, Isidore of Seville was one of the most eminent authorities to mediate classical antiquity to the Middle Ages, partly through the filter of the seven liberal arts.³⁶² Refuting a wandering scholar, Gerard mentions the liberal arts in this context: *Dicat mihi, qui uult, quia multa legi, multa cucurri. In Spania fui doctus, in Britannia eruditus, in Scotia detritus, in Hybernia studui, omnes liberales disciplinas commendauim memoriae, ideo nil lectionis me effugere potest*. Regardless of whether Gerard attributes it to somebody else or to himself, this ambitious itinerary is an obvious exaggeration in order to claim scholarly experience. This claim is emphasized by stylistic devices too: the frequent repetition of the endings *-ia* and *-tus* in the most important words (*Spania*, *Britannia*, *Scotia*, *Hybernia* – *doctus*, *eruditus*, *detritus*). It is peculiar that Gerard easily contradicts his apparent monastic rigor when his expertise in the liberal arts is at stake. The source of enumerating these geographical names could be Isidore's *Etymologiae* 14.6.1–6. It is also possible, however, that the place names stand for representative authors from their respective region: that is, if someone claims *in Spania fui doctus*, for instance, it could mean that the person studied the works of Isidore of Seville, all the more likely because it was common knowledge in the Middle Ages that Isidore was from Spain, as is evident from the recommendation by Notker Balbulus: *Libri Isidori Hispaniensis episcopi, Etymologiarum nomine titulati, omnimoda te perficiunt scientia. Item Sententiarum eius utilissimus liber occurrit*.³⁶³ Gerard's use of the expression *liberales disciplinas* fits into a lasting literary tradition originating in the Latin classics. Exactly the same expression occurs in classical authors such as Velleius Paterculus (*Historia Romana* 2.59.4), Seneca (*Dialogi* 10.7.3), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 12.7.8), Suetonius (*Caligula* 53.1), Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 7.17.1) and Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res gestae* 29.1.41), patristic authors such as Tertullian, Lactantius, Saint Augustine and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 4.13.1), and Carolingian authors such as Hrabanus Maurus and John Scottus Eriugena. Similar expressions figure in the legends of Saint Gerard as well: the *Legenda minor* (*regis amici liberalibus artibus*

³⁶⁰ CCCM 49, 6, 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 33, 34, 36, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 61, 63, 67, 77, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 109, 112, 114, 115, 116, 128, 129, 137, 141, 144, 158, 166, 170, 171, 174, 176, 177. See Bodor (1943: 173–227); Benyik (2001: 121–6).

³⁶¹ See Szegfű (1979a: 3–60). See also Beeson (1913: 1–131); Wallach (1955: 18–22); Bezold (1962: 6–7, 90); Fontaine (1966: 108–27); Reydellet (1966: 383–437); Marshall (1983: 194–6); Schindel (1988: 587–605); Contreni (1992b: XII.379–87).

³⁶² Bischoff (1966c: 171–94).

³⁶³ CCCM 49, 152; Notker Balbulus, “De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum,” *PL* 131, 998. See also Díaz y Díaz (1976: 141–201).

imbuti) and the *Legenda maior* (*in scientiis liberalibus... omniumque liberalium scientiarum artibus instructi; pro adipiscendo fructu scientie artis liberalis; amici regis, liberalibus studiis eruditi*).³⁶⁴

Further evidence proves that the *Deliberatio* was influenced by the classical tradition in general and the seven liberal arts in particular. Since the available information on Gerard's actual libraries is less than fragmentary, the starting point in the study of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* is the examination of the author's attitude towards literacy and illiteracy. He argues that the disciples of Christ, illiterate fishermen, *omnem praecesserunt philosophiam inliterate doctissimi sine litteris*. Additional statements of the same attitude include the following: *Denique piscatores ex illis legimus potius quam litteratos. Ille autem, qui accepit potestatem celi et dominationem in omni saeculo post Deum, potius, ut ita dicam sapiebat instrumenta pisces capiendi quam legere; Iste nuper in naui sine litteris, nunc inter doctissimos disputabat de interioribus Dei; Veniat uero ad prophetas, qui non litterati sed dominici rustici fuerunt. Disputet cum Petro et suis, qui non oratores sed piscatores extiterunt*. The opposition of the terms *piscator* and *rusticus* with the terms *litteratus* and *orator* already appears in Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 2.21.16: *rusticus inlitteratusque*, and 7.1.42: *petit rusticus partem bonorum, orator totum uindicat sibi*) and Saint Jerome (*piscatores et illitterati mittuntur ad praedicandum, ne fides credentium non uirtute Dei, sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur*, quoted by Bede the Venerable), and later in Bruno of Segni (*Sapientiores sunt piscatores et rustici Deum timentes, quam episcopi et sacerdotes ualde litterati, salutem negligentes*).³⁶⁵ The expression *uerba, licet rusticana* also has classical and patristic antecedents, such as Tibullus (*Elegiae* 2.1.52: *Cantauit certo rustica uerba pede*, and 2.3.4: *Verbaque aratoris rustica discit Amor*), Fronto (*Ad M. Caesarem et inuicem* 4.3.2: *in uerbis rusticanis*) and Saint Jerome (*Venerationi mihi semper fuit non uerbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas*).³⁶⁶ Even Christ preferred fishing to reading, and Gerard sees no difference between an illiterate and a literate man, since neither of them can read and decipher the sealed book of the Apocalypse: *Et erunt sermones libri istius quasi uerba uoluminis signati. Quodsi dederint homini nescienti litteras, dicentes ei: Lege, respondebit: Nescio litteras. Sin autem dederint illud homini scienti litteras, et dixerint: Lege librum, respondebit: Non possum legere, quia signatus est*. Based on Isaiah 29.11–2, this passage is a verbatim quotation

³⁶⁴ Tertullian, "De anima," *CCSL* 2, 834; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," *CSEL* 19, 79; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," *CCSL* 32, 74; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," *CCCM* 44, 235; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," *CCCM* 31, 16; "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 477, 483, 494, 500.

³⁶⁵ *CCCM* 49, 12, 47, 123, 152; Saint Jerome, "Commentaria in euangelium Matthaei," *PL* 26, 33; Bede the Venerable, "In Marci euangelium expositio," *CCSL* 120, 446; Bruno of Segni, "Sententiae," *PL* 165, 1047. See Grundmann (1958: 1–65).

³⁶⁶ *CCCM* 49, 132; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 525.

from Saint Jerome, also adapted by Isidore of Seville.³⁶⁷ Gerard uses the term *idiota* in a similar context: *Talis quidem est istiusmodi hebrietas, que idiotas omnium misteriorum fecit capaces*. This term is also classical: it occurs already in Cicero (*Pro Sestio* 51.110: *postea quam rem paternam ab idiotarum diuitiis ad philosophorum regulam perduxit, Graeculum se atque otiosum putari uoluit, studio litterarum se subito dedit*) and Seneca (*Controuersiae* 7.pr.5: *Idiotismos est inter oratorias uirtutes res quae raro procedit*), as well as in Carolingian authors treating grammatical subjects, such as Alcuin (*Idiota Graecum nomen est, Latine imperitus*).³⁶⁸

On the other hand, Gerard places the Biblical authors, the prophet Jeremiah, Saint Paul and Saint John, for instance, above the mortal philosophers: *unum celestium philosophorum* (about the author of the Apocalypse); *Paulus, praeclarissimus orbis doctor; sapienter disputabat Paulus, fons et manatio doctrinarum; Hieremias, diuinus per omnia uir, refutauit Platonem et sua; omnem deliberationem mortalium philosophorum transcenderunt, omnibus acutiores atque disertiores inuenti sunt; Paulus et omnes, qui suae scholae fuerunt*. Gerard's expression *caelestis philosophia*, a reference to Christian doctrine in opposition to pagan philosophy, is part of the patristic and Carolingian legacy: it appears in the same context in Cassiodorus (*Paulus igitur in Ariopagi medio constitutus caelestis philosophiae mella fundebat; caelestis philosophiae uerus ordo*), Bede the Venerable (*optimam partem philosophiae caelestis*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*coelestis philosophiae doctrina*).³⁶⁹

It is especially significant, however, that Gerard refers to pagan authors and secular masters a lot more frequently than to the Church Fathers, and that he employs the same terminology to refer to the ancient philosophers and their modern—that is, eleventh-century—followers. He calls them *stulti sapientes*: *Ergo multi multa scientes quamquam participantes inscii facti sunt, ut stulti sapientes, quorum numerus a Spiritu sancto perhibetur infinitus; Omnis contra Deum insurgit solius confidens in homine, ut stultus, sic sapiens, ut indoctus, sic litteratus, ut pauper sic diues, ut seruus sic dominus*. The contrasting of the words *stultus* and *sapiens* shows Biblical influence (Ecclesiastes 1.15: *et stultorum infinitus est numerus*, and also Proverbs 10.1, 10.8, Ecclesiastes 2.19, Romans 1.22, 1 Corinthians 1.20 and 1 Corinthians 3.18) but it also plays an important role in classical Latin authors such as Cicero (*De oratore* 1.51.221: *neque uult ita sapiens inter stultos uideri*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 5.10.74: *qui est sapiens, stultus non est*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*

³⁶⁷ CCCM 49, 156; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV," CCSL 75, 644; Isidore of Seville, "De fide catholica," PL 83, 498.

³⁶⁸ Alcuin, "Orthographia," GL 7, 304. See Schneider (1981: 132–57).

³⁶⁹ CCCM 49, 20, 23, 35, 41, 48, 62; Cassiodorus, "Complexiones in Actus apostolorum," PL 70, 1396; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 55; Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," CCSL 120, 231; Hrabanus Maurus, "De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae," PL 112, 1307.

4.385: *siquidem stultitia sapientiae ita contraria est, ut non eiusdem sapientiae stultitia sit, aut ad illam sit stultitia*), as well as in patristic authors such as Saint Augustine (*stulti sapientes*).³⁷⁰ Another parallel expression of Gerard's is *stulti philosophi: magis adherent stultorum neniis philosophorum dictisque gentilium, quam eloquiis prophetarum et euangelistarum*. It also reflects patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome (*non secundum stultos philosophos et quosdam hereticos*), Bede the Venerable (*nulla philosophiae saecularis secta, quae ab aliis aequae stultae philosophiae sectis mendacii redarguatur*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*non secundum stultos philosophos et quosdam haereticos*).³⁷¹

Pagan authors are not even worthy of the name of philosopher in Gerard's view: *Olim multi conati sunt facere, sed non potuerunt, et philosophi dicebantur. Omnes errauerunt iuxta diuinum dictum et locuti sunt falsa. Si percurrere tempto mundi philosophorum nenias, dies me inprimis deficient. While his indignation (et philosophi dicebantur) recalls that of Tertullian (Quot denique philosophi dicuntur nec tamen legem philosophiae adimplent?), his contemptuous judgment about secular philosophy (philosophorum nenias) is similar to that of Ambrosius Autpertus (non philosophorum nenias, non hereticorum uersutias).³⁷² Pagan philosophy is also *inanis* (circa *inanem philosophiam*). The same description of philosophy figures in patristic, Carolingian and medieval authors such as Lactantius (*inanem philosophiam*), Cassianus (*ad inanem philosophiam mundi huius*), Leo the Great (*per inanes philosophias*), Bede the Venerable (*uitam beatam inanis philosophiae studiis inquirunt*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*Sed si quaeris, qualis differentia sit inter carnis prudentiam et inanem philosophiam*), and later Peter Damian (*Habes, qui per uanam eloquentiam et inanem philosophiam se sciunt in superbiae cornibus arroganter extollere*).³⁷³ Gerard discredits the statements of pagan authors in rather harsh ways: *in sterquilinio gentilium promulgationum; illorum dicta ut stercora arbitremur*. This vocabulary invokes Philippians 3.8 (*et arbitror ut stercora*), a passage also appearing in Saint Jerome (*stercora arbitratum*, quoted by Bede the Venerable). Sedulius Scottus provided an exegesis of the Pauline passage: "*Et arbitror ut stercora.*" *Stercora sunt quae eiiciunt homines uel cetera animalia ex utero, cum quod forte et solidum est ad confirmandum et satiandum corpus remanet intus, sic littera legis eiicitur, et sensus spiritualis ad cibum animae in corpore eccle-**

³⁷⁰ CCCM 49, 28, 119; Saint Augustine, "In Ioannis euangelium tractatus," PL 35, 1936.

³⁷¹ CCCM 49, 66; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV," CCSL 77, 81; Bede the Venerable, "Hexaameron," PL 91, 130; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," PL 107, 912.

³⁷² CCCM 49, 165; Tertullian, "Ad nationes," CCSL 1, 16; Ambrosius Autpertus, "Expositio in Apocalypsin," CCCM 27, 394.

³⁷³ CCCM 49, 26; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 667; Cassianus, "Conlationes," CSEL 13, 63; Leo the Great, "Sermones inediti," PL 56, 1146; Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae euangelium expositio," CCSL 120, 289; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," PL 122, 850; Peter Damian, "Vita sancti Romualdi," PL 144, 953.

siae remanet. The expression later also occurs in Peter Damian again (*et arbitror uelut stercora*).³⁷⁴

Gerard's vocabulary regarding pagan authors is even more diverse than that. He applies further terms to refer to the teaching of the mortal philosophers: *instabilis mortalium philosophia; ignorantia promerente et errore mortalium; mortalium dicta*.³⁷⁵ He also calls them *recitatores*: *Mortalibus sic quidem recitatoribus mortalia inpendio uidentur dulcia esse dicta, in quibus pene omnes, qui futilem scienciam appetunt, in uanissimis deliberationibus stabilitam desudare delectant, quemadmodum olim multi fecerunt*. The term *recitator* is clearly classical (Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.47.139: *recitatores*, Horace, *Ars poetica* 474: *recitator acerbus*, and Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 95.2: *Recitator*). What makes Gerard's word choice interesting is that he uses the noun in its classical meaning, although it means prophet in a Christian interpretation, as the etymology by Ratherius of Verona makes clear: *quandiu prophetia recitabitur, tandiu recitator propheta dicitur*.³⁷⁶ More traditional terms also appear in the *Deliberatio* to denote pagan philosophers (*quidam philosophorum; a philosophis; apud gentiles philosophos*).³⁷⁷ Gerard's descriptions of secular philosophy and its proponents (*philosophi uero saeculi; philosophia saeculi nesciente suaque ignorante nobilitate; mundi philosophorum superuacua scrutaretur inperitia*) sometimes reflect the traditional patristic vocabulary, for instance that of Saint Jerome (*apud philosophos saeculi*).³⁷⁸ More often, however, Gerard develops a wide array of expressions that usually stand unparalleled: such expressions include the following: *mundanos disputatores; scientiatos; saeculariter litterati... magistri nimirum erroris et amatores mendatii; lectores carnales*.³⁷⁹ Nevertheless, his use of the diminutive *litteratuli* echoes Saint Jerome again (*et uideris tibi litteratulus*, quoted by Sedulius Scottus).³⁸⁰

In sum, Gerard's attitude towards the pagan authors and secular masters is similar to that of his contemporary Rodulfus Glaber, who reported in his *Historiae* that the heretical grammarian Vilgard of Ravenna adored demons in the likeness of the poets Vergil, Horace and Juvenal: *Quidam igitur Vilgardus dictus, studio artis gramatice magis assiduus quam frequens, sicut Italicis mos semper fuit artes negligere ceteras, illam sectari. Is enim cum ex scientia sue artis cepisset inflatus superbia stultior appa-*

³⁷⁴ CCCM 49, 13, 28; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 385; Bede the Venerable, "In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio," PL 91, 511; Sedulius Scottus, "Collectanea in omnes beati Pauli epistolas," PL 103, 215; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.2, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1988), 198.

³⁷⁵ CCCM 49, 26, 28, 88.

³⁷⁶ CCCM 49, 26; Ratherius of Verona, "Praeloquia," CCCM 46A, 88.

³⁷⁷ CCCM 49, 62, 88, 105.

³⁷⁸ CCCM 49, 28, 48, 85; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaia libri," CCSL 73, 151.

³⁷⁹ CCCM 49, 20, 85, 103, 170.

³⁸⁰ CCCM 49, 156; Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," CCSL 79, 30; Sedulius Scottus, "Collectaneum miscellaneum," CCCM 67, 22. See Petersen (1917: 49–67).

*rere, quadam nocte assumpsere demones poetarum species Virgilii et Oratii atque Iuuenalis, apparentesque illi fallaces retulerunt grates quoniam suorum dicta uoluminum carius amplectens exercebat, seque illorum posteritatis felicem esse preconem; promiserunt ei insuper sue glorie postmodum fore participem.*³⁸¹ In other words, even though Gerard routinely condemns the pagan authors, those demons are still there in his work. Those same demons are also there whenever Gerard of Csanád directly touches upon the seven liberal arts in his *Deliberatio*. The concept and definition of the liberal arts originate in classical antiquity. Explicit references to them appear in Cicero (*De officiis* 1.42.150: *Inliberales autem et sordidi quaestus mercennariorum omnium, quorum operae, non quorum artes emuntur*, and *De oratore* 3.32.127: *nec solum has artis, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum*) and Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 88.23: *hae artes, quas enkuklios Graeci, nostri autem liberales uocant*).³⁸²

Already the dedication in the title of Gerard's work (*Deliberatio Gerardi Morese-nae aecclesiae episcopi Supra Hymnum Trium puerorum Ad Isingrimum Liberalem*), written in red capital letters at the top of the first folio in the Munich codex, suggests that the real or imaginary audience of Gerard had some knowledge of the liberal arts. This dedication resembles that of Seneca's *De beneficiis: ad Aebutium liberalem de beneficiis*. Although Gerard's usually indirect and unsystematic references to the arts do not represent the erudition of the learned classical, late antique and early medieval treatises, he certainly had some knowledge about the ancient Greek and Roman authorities on the subject. At some point, for instance, he enumerates the Greek philosophical schools: Academic, Peripatetic, Platonic, Stoic and Gymnosophist.³⁸³ He refers to Zeno in the following way: *In Zenone autem, Stoicorum principe*. This Latin epithet of Zeno stems from Cicero (*Lucullus* 42.131: *Zeno statuit finem esse bonorum, qui inuentor et princeps Stoicorum fuit*) and reached Gerard via patristic and Carolingian mediation: Lactantius (*Zenoni obtrearet principi Stoicorum*), Saint Jerome (*apud Zenonem Stoicorum principem*), Saint Augustine (*Zenonem principem Stoicorum*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*Zeno princeps Stoicorum*).³⁸⁴ On the other hand, Gerard's transcendent purposes always take precedence over his earthly audience, and his overall view about the ancient pagan philosophers culminates in the comparison of the teaching of Plato to that of the Gospel: *quibus dictis* (Matthew 15.19) *Plato philoso-*

³⁸¹ John France, ed., *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 92. See also Ward (1988: 57–118); Landes (2000: 26–43).

³⁸² See Baebler (1885a: 29). See also Meier (1886–1887); Parker (1890: 417–61); Abelson (1906); Lutz (1956a: 32–49); De Rijk (1965: 24–93); Gibson (1993: I.121–6); Cristante (1997: 57–66); Hadot (1997: 17–34).

³⁸³ CCCM 49, 49. See Jeaneau (1975: 15–54).

³⁸⁴ CCCM 49, 41; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 188; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Daniele libri III," CCSL 75A, 778; Saint Augustine, "Contra Academicos," CCSL 29, 58; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio super Jeremiam prophetam," PL 111, 813.

phus comprobatur stultissimus dicens humana cogitata non de corde sed de cerebro manare. The tradition of pejorative rhetorical references to Plato influenced Gerard through patristic and early medieval mediation again: similar statements concerning Plato can be found in Saint Jerome (*tunc ignitus Iuppiter; adducetur et cum suis stultus Plato discipulis*) and Bede the Venerable (*quia stultum profecto est iuxta Platonem et Diogenem et quosdam alios philosophos*).³⁸⁵

One must acknowledge that Gerard's acquaintance with classical learning is somewhat superficial. His adaptations from and possible allusions to ancient Roman authors are secondhand quotations, probably from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. While Gerard calls the Church Fathers, probably Saint Jerome for instance, *unus ex nostris*, he never quotes classical authors by name. He uses formulae instead: *apud poetas* in general, *unus autem uestrum* to refer to Lucretius, and *unus autem ex uestris* to refer to Terence. Considering his frequent use of the second person and the dedication of the work (*ad Isingrimum liberalem*), it is quite possible that the second person plural pronouns in these cases (*uestrum*, *ex uestris*) address the *liberales* such as Isingrim.³⁸⁶

The context of Gerard's quotation from Lucretius is the following: *Unus autem uestrum ait celum quod dicitur aer. Psalmographus nobilissimus noster: Volucres caeli, ait, cum euidētissimum sit uolucres in aere uolare.* The passage of Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.131–2: *sunt etiam quae sponte sua gignuntur et ipsa/constituuntur in hoc caelo, qui dicitur "aer"*) is adapted in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 13.4.3: *Lucretius: Caelum, quod dicitur aer. Et psalmus: "Volucres caeli" appellat, cum manifestum sit aues in aere uolare.* The context in the *Deliberatio* makes it clear that Gerard quotes Lucretius indirectly through Isidore. He must have also known, however, that the quote comes originally from Lucretius, since the Isidorian passage explicitly mentions the name of the Roman poet. The same line from Lucretius became a popular quote as early as classical antiquity and the late antique grammatical tradition: besides Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.36.91), it appears several times in Servius as well (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.58, 5.18, 9.20, 10.899). Saint Augustine later also alludes to the same line: *et iste aer caelum dicitur.* Although Saint Jerome provided a short account of his literary activity (*Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur, qui postea amatorio poculo in furorem uersus, cum aliquot libros per interualla insaniae conscripsisset, quos postea Cicero emendauit, propria se manu interfecit, anno aetatis xliu*), Lucretius was not extremely popular in the Middle Ages. Quotations from his *De rerum natura* occasionally appear in Priscian and Isidore, and the patristic and Carolingian authors usually had secondhand knowledge of the work. Adapting the quote from Isidore's *Ety-*

³⁸⁵ CCCM 49, 96; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 61; Bede the Venerable, "Homeliarum evangelii libri II," CCSL 122, 88. See Marenbon (2002: 69, 71).

³⁸⁶ CCCM 49, 20, 23, 80, 158.

mologiae to his *Deliberatio*, therefore, Gerard fits into the tradition of indirect quotations from Lucretius.³⁸⁷

Gerard quotes Terence in the following way: *Unus autem ex uestris: Veritas, ait, odium parit*. The passage of Terence (*Andria* 67–8: *sapienter uitam instituit; namque hoc tempore/ obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*) is also adapted several times in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 1.36.3, 2.9.11, 2.11.1 and 2.21.14 (*Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*). This famous quote appears in classical Latin authors such as Cicero (*Laelius de amicitia* 24.89: *Sed nescio quo modo uerum est, quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 8.5.4), as well as in late antique poets such as Ausonius (*Ludus septem sapientium* 191: *dixisse nollem: ueritas odium parit*) and grammarians such as Priscian. Gerard features the quote from Terence in accordance with the patristic tradition that seems to have appreciated this passage. Lactantius quotes it and adds that it looks as though the poet Terence was inspired by the Holy Spirit: *Utrumne ueritas odium parit, ut ait poeta quasi diuini spiritu instinctus*. Saint Jerome also quotes the *comicus*: *Et comicus: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit."* Using the same quote from Terence elsewhere, Saint Jerome compares Saint Paul's style (Galatians 4.16: *ergo inimicus uobis factus sum uerum dicens uobis*) to that of Terence: *Eleganter autem sententiam terminauit, dicens: "Ergo inimicus uobis factus sum ueritatem dicens uobis?" ut ostenderet initia praedicationis, non tam ueritatem fuisse, quam umbram et imaginem ueritatis. Similis est huic illa sententia nobilis apud Romanos poetae: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit* (Jerome's comparison is later quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). In comparison to Proverbs 27.6 (*meliora sunt uulnera diligentis quam fraudulenta odientis oscula*), Saint Jerome quotes this *uulgare prouerbium* again: *Nescio enim, utrum Christianae amicitiae putandae sint, in quibus magis ualet uulgare prouerbium: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit," quam Ecclesiasticum: "Fideliora sunt uulnera amici quam uoluntaria oscula inimici"* (Jerome's sentence is quoted verbatim by Saint Augustine). Alluding to the Gospel (John 8.40: *nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum quam audiui a Deo*), Saint Augustine uses the quote from Terence in his *Confessiones* as well: *Cur autem ueritas parit odium et inimicus eis factus est homo tuus uerum praedicans*.³⁸⁸

This complex classical and patristic tradition of quoting this particular passage

³⁸⁷ CCCM 49, 23; Saint Augustine, "Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri VII," CCSL 33, 452; Saint Jerome, "Interpretatio chronicae Eusebii Pamphili," PL 27, 523–6. See Jessen (1870: 236–8); Philippe (1896: 125–62); Brunhölzl (1962: 97–104); Ruebel (1984: 213–22).

³⁸⁸ CCCM 49, 158; Priscian, "Praeexercitamina," GL 3, 433; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 425; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 35; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas," PL 26, 382; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," PL 112, 325; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 418–9; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 34.2, 382; Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," CCSL 27, 173. See also Luebeck (1872: 111).

from Terence prompted the use of the quote in the early medieval authorities that seem to have been Gerard's immediate sources: Cassiodorus and, more importantly, Isidore of Seville. Although for a purpose completely different from that of Gerard, Cassiodorus quotes the passage where he treats rhetoric in his *Institutiones* 2.2.13: *sententiale est quod sententia generalis adicit, ut apud Terentium: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit* (quoted by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.9.11). Gerard, however, probably quotes the passage from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where it figures four times: 1.36.3 (*De schematibus*): *Zeugma est clausula, cum plures sensus uno uerbo clauduntur, quae fit tribus modis. Nam aut in primo, aut in postremo, aut in medio id uerbum ponitur, quod sententias iungit... In postremo, ut: "Namque hoc tempore/ obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*; 2.9.11 (*De syllogismis* from Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.2.13): *Ostentabile est, quod certa rei demonstratione constringit, sicut Cicero in Catilina (Cicero, In Catilinam 1.1.2): "Hic tamen uiuit, imo etiam in senatum uenit." Sententiale est, quod sententia generalis adducit, ut apud Terentium: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*; 2.11.1 (*De sententia*): *Sententia est dictum impersonale, ut: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*; 2.21.14 (*De figuris uerborum et sententiarum*): *Sententia est dictum impersonale, ut: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*. Provided that he indeed quotes Terence from Isidore, as seems most probable, Gerard is familiar with at least one of the contexts of the passage in the *Etymologiae*, where Book One deals with grammar and Book Two deals with rhetoric and dialectic. This implies that Gerard probably studied the seven liberal arts, or the *triuium* at least (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic), on the basis of Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Since many of his other indirect quotations also come from the *Etymologiae*, this hypothesis stands firm even if one considers the possible additional influence of such popular genres as hymns, *florilegia* and proverbs, which often feature the same passage of Terence as well.³⁸⁹

As regards the channels of influence, Gerard's indirect quotation from Terence is similar to that of Carolingian authors who usually knew that the passage came from Terence, such as Sedulius Scottus (*Terentius: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*) and Hincmar of Reims (*Quia uero, ut Comicus dicit: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*). Quoting this line remained popular, but its explicit connection to Terence seems to have gradually faded away, as was the case in authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries, some of them Gerard's contemporaries, such as Ratherius of Verona (*utilius estimari quod docet comicus quam quod interminatur Dominus, pluris pendit dictum: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*), Abbo of Fleury (*iuxta illud Comici:*

³⁸⁹ See Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 21.2, *Cantiones et muteti: Cantiones festivae, morales, variae* (Leipzig: Reissland, 1895), 124–5; Gagnér (1936: 128); Hans Walther, ed., *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*, vol. 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 674; Arnagart (1981: 297); Hans Walther and Paul Gerhard Schmidt, ed., *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi*, vol. 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 784; Taylor (1992: 20–1).

Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit), Thangmar of Hildesheim (*sicut a quodam dictum est: Veritas odium parit*) and Otloh of Saint Emmeram, who simply quotes the line without proper attribution in his collection of proverbs. Similarly to Gerard's practice (*Unus autem ex uestris*), Thangmar, for instance, does not specify his immediate or ultimate source either (*sicut a quodam dictum est*). These ambivalent expressions imply secondhand quotations by both Thangmar and Gerard.³⁹⁰

Saint Jerome's reference to the commentaries on Terence's comedies by Donatus (*et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati*) shows that the textual transmission of Terence, including his *Andria*, was also enriched by various sets of scholia as well as biographies already in antiquity.³⁹¹ The Carolingian dissemination of the sixth-century commentaries by Euphrasius and the eighth-century *Commentum Brunianum* complemented the ancient tradition and contributed to Terence's popularity as a school author in the Middle Ages: the rich manuscript tradition and the classical content of *florilegia* attest this proliferation. Lupus of Ferrières, for instance, wrote a letter to Rome with the following request: *Petimus etiam Tullium de oratore, et duodecim libros institutionum oratoriarum Quintiliani, qui uno nec ingenti uolumine continentur... Pari intentione Donati commentum in Terentium flagitamus*.³⁹² One of the numerous sets of medieval commentaries on Terence survives in a manuscript copied around the year 1000: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14420, fol. 79r–144v. Before entering the Munich collection, the manuscript belonged to the monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg, but at the time when Gerard was a monk in Venice it was stored in the monastery of Brescia in northern Italy. This provenance suggests that Gerard, as a Venetian monk, might have been acquainted with a copy of a commentary on Terence of this sort in Venice or somewhere else in the region.³⁹³

Besides Gerard's indirect quotations from Lucretius and Terence, his *Deliberatio* also contains a reminiscence of Horace: *non Epicurii, illius coessentes, qui porcus a stultis sapientibus nuncupatus est*. The most popular classical manifestation of this ancient topos about Epicureanism is Horace's letter to Tibullus (*Epistulae* 1.4.16): *cum ridere uoles, Epicuri de grege porcum*. Scholars have never paid due attention to this

³⁹⁰ Sedulius Scottus, "Collectaneum miscellaneum," *CCCM* 67, 149; Hincmar of Reims, "De regis persona et regio ministerio ad Carolum calvum regem," *PL* 125, 833; Ratherius of Verona, "Praeloquia," *CCCM* 46A, 77; Abbo of Fleury, "Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum," *PL* 139, 470; Thangmar of Hildesheim, "Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis," *MGH: Scriptores* 4, 764; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber proverbiorum," *PL* 146, 323. See Sutphen (1901: 386–7); Reece (1968: 212).

³⁹¹ Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 15. See Leo (1883: 317–47); Fridericus Schlee, ed., *Scholia Terentiana* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893), 52; Sabbadini (1894: 1–134); Büttner (1894: 73–5); Beeson (1922: 283–305); Jachmann (1924); Craig (1929: 10–3); Grant (1986: 60–96).

³⁹² Lupus of Ferrières, "Epistolae," *PL* 119, 579; Dziatzko (1894: 465–77); Rand (1909: 359–89); Ullman (1932: 1–42); Gariépy (1968: 90–105); Glauche (1972: 617–36); Riou (1973: 79–113); Gariépy (1976: 152–8); Marshall (1979: 514–23); Reeve (1983: 412–20); Riou (1997: 33–49).

³⁹³ See Bischoff (1972b: 53–61); Ferrari (1975: 303–20); Billanovich (1975: 321–52); Villa (1979: 1–44); Villa (1987: 292–320); Holloway (1992: 35–46). See also Maróti (1962: 243).

reminiscence in the *Deliberatio*, although its antecedents occur in such patristic authorities as Saint Jerome (*Et cum in amoenissimo agro in morsum uoluptuosorum hominum se crassum pinguemque describeret, lusit his uersibus: "Me pinguem et nitidum, bene curata cute, uises,/ Cum ridere uoles, Epicuri de grege porcum"*) and Saint Augustine (*et ab Epicuro didicit hoc, nescio quo deliro philosopho, uel potius amatore uanitatis, non sapientiae, quem ipsi etiam philosophi porcum nominauerunt; qui uoluptatem corporis summum bonum dixit, hunc philosophum porcum nominauerunt, uolutantem se in coeno carnali* and *imo uero doluit apostolus, quosdam e numero Christianorum elegisse sententiam Epicureorum, non hominum, sed porcorum*). Gerard, however, quotes Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 8.6.15: *Epicurei dicti ab Epicuro quodam philosopho amatore uanitatis, non sapientiae, quem etiam ipsi philosophi porcum nominauerunt, quasi uolutans in caeno carnali, uoluptatem corporis summum bonum adserens; qui etiam dixit nulla diuina prouidentia instructum esse aut regi mundum* (also quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). One might add here that one of the rare instances of referring to Epicureanism in medieval Hungary can be found in a thirteenth-century poem (*mechi, fures, Epicuri*).³⁹⁴

Gerard depends on Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* not only in terms of classical quotations but also concerning his etymological explanations of Latin terms. Isidore mixed the so-called 'technographic' etymology, based on Varro and Priscian, and the 'mythographic' and Biblical etymology, based on Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine. Gerard applies this Isidorian combination, for instance, in explaining the etymology of the noun *numerus*, deriving from *nummus*: *unum semen numeri est, non numerum... Numero uero circa nos nummus nomen dedit, et a sui frequentacione uocabulum indidit*. This etymology is a direct borrowing from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.3.1: *Nam unum semen numeri esse, non numerum. Numero nummus nomen dedit, et a sui frequentacione uocabulum indidit*. Hrabanus Maurus quotes the same Isidorian passage: *Apud Latinos uero numerus ex nummo et riuo uidetur nomen traxisse. Siue enim ex riuo nummorum, id est ex multitudine census, qui reddebatur regibus uel imperatoribus numerus nomen accepit; unde Hisidorus dicit: "Nummus numero nomen dedit et a sui frequentacione uocabulum indidit."* The excerpts from Priscian's grammar, attributed to Hrabanus Maurus, feature a similar etymology: *Numerus dicitur a nummis numerandis, uel a quadam dea Numeria. Singularis, id est certitas quantitatis*. The *nummus* and *Numeria* etymology features in the Carolingian commentaries on Donatus as well, Murethach and the *Ars Laurehamensis* providing literally the same etymology: *Dictus autem est numerus a Numeria dea, quam antiquitus coluerunt Romani; siue, ut quidam uolunt, a Numa consule Pompilio, uel etiam, quod uerius est, a nummis siue a nume-*

³⁹⁴ CCCM 49, 49; Saint Jerome, "Aduersus Iovinianum," PL 23, 302; Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 39, 1022; Saint Augustine, "Sermones," PL 38, 811; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 415; "Planctus destructionis regni Hungariae per Tartaros," SRH 2, 595. See also Luebeck (1872: 165); Löfstedt (1948: 137–9); Putnam (1972: 81–8).

rando. Sedulius Scottus provides a shorter version: *Numerus a Numeria dea uel a nummis nomen accepit*.³⁹⁵

No doubt Gerard's view of secular scholarship in general is primarily influenced by the Isidorian classification of learning. His division of the seven liberal arts is based on Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where Book One deals with grammar, Book Two with rhetoric and dialectic, and Book Three with the arts of the *quadriuium*. The significance of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* is, therefore, primarily due to Isidore's influence.³⁹⁶ When Gerard reviews the seven liberal arts in a brief survey, he simply enumerates the objects of study of each individual art, instead of explicitly naming them one after the other. He also gives a sketch of the history of the liberal arts, mentioning Greek and Roman authorities: Thales, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Gorgias and Hermagoras on the one hand, and Cicero and Quintilian on the other.³⁹⁷ Gerard admits that the labor of the ancient philosophers is worth praising, but one should not glorify them, since they acted only with the help of God, just like Balaam's ass in the Old Testament (Numbers 22.21–35): *sudor illorum potius laudandus quam ipsi benedicendi... Verum, dicto quod dixerunt, homines remanserunt, in quibus non permanet Dei spiritus. Mirum si Deus homines fecit loqui, qui asinum reddidit rethorem? Balaam arriolus non solum dixit, immo etiam predixit*. (Part of Gerard's syntax here resembles Hrabanus Maurus': *ab illo dicto quod dixit* and *illi dicto, quod dixit*.)³⁹⁸ Gerard's further elaboration on this subject is embedded in the patristic and Carolingian rhetorical tradition: *Quia uero, ut dictum audisti, spiritus Domini in hominibus non permanet, ideo uero tales minime benedicendi circa dimissionem, quamlibet, ut dixi, ingenia praedicanda siue temperate laudanda*. His statement relies on the vocabulary and the rhetorical principles of Saint Augustine (*temperat se laudator iste ardens*) and especially that of the *De doctrina Christiana*: *Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictator esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere, sed submisce, cum aliquid docetur; temperate, cum aliquid uituperatur siue laudatur*. Hrabanus Maurus later quotes these Augustinian rhetorical principles in the *De clericorum institutione*.³⁹⁹

Indeed, Gerard is more of a mystical author than a great friend of classical learning, although the two aspects are not necessarily mutually contradictory. With divine provi-

³⁹⁵ CCCM 49, 21; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," CCCM 44, 206–7; Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, "Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani," PL 111, 672; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," CCCM 40, 88; "Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem," CCCM 40A, 41; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem minorem," CCCM 40C, 21. See also Warren (1885: 460); Elder (1947: 147); Amsler (1977: 5106); Fontaine (1988a: III.89–106).

³⁹⁶ See Rajna (1928: 4–36); Rand (1929a: 222–30); Lutz (1956b: 65–86); Fontaine (1959: 591–732); Weisheipl (1965: 54–90); Bischoff (1966d: 273–88).

³⁹⁷ CCCM 49, 1, 27, 40–2, 152; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.2.1, 2.23.1–2, 2.24.4–8.

³⁹⁸ CCCM 49, 41; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," PL 112, 550, 593.

³⁹⁹ CCCM 49, 41–2; Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 40, 1537; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," CCSL 32, 144; Hrabanus Maurus, "De clericorum institutione," PL 107, 410.

dence in mind, he contends that the arts of the *triuuium* correspond to Nature: grammar is Heaven, rhetoric is the Earth, and dialectic is the Sun, the Moon and the stars: *Nescio, a quo creatus sum, litterarum ignarus, celum pro gramatica, terram pro rhetorica, solem et lunam et stellas pro dialectica atque pro ceteris cetera, ut his pulcris disciplinis omnis creatura suum cognosceret creatorem, in doctrinam dedit*. While his expression *litterarum ignarus* reflects classical (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 25.16, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 5.14.29, and Tacitus, *Annales* 2.54.3 and 6.21.1) and early medieval vocabulary (Gregory the Great: *Ipsi namque Ecclesiae principes litterarum perhibentur ignari*, and Bede the Venerable: *litterarum ignari*), the content is rather Augustinian: *Omnis sapientiae disciplina, quae ad homines erudiendos pertinet, est creatorem creaturamque dinoscere, et illum colere dominantem, istam subiectam fateri*.⁴⁰⁰

Gerard's treatment of grammar seems contradictory. He asserts that the Bible refutes the grammarians concerning the interpretation of *Deus* as *timor*: *Quidam uero grammaticorum dicunt, quod Deus timor dicatur. Iohannes uero illorum mendatio longius obuiat dicens...* In fact, Gerard's criticism is somewhat misguided here, because this interpretation is also provided by patristic and Carolingian authors such as Venantius Fortunatus (*Ne timeam timidum, timor est Deus arma timentum*), Cassiodorus (*Deus enim Graeca lingua dicitur timor*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 7.1.5: *Tertium Eloë, quod utrumque in Latino Deus dicitur. Est autem nomen in Latinum ex Graeca appellatione translatum. Nam Deus Graece deos, phobos dicitur, id est timor, unde tractum est Deus, quod eum colentibus sit timor*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus) and Remigius of Auxerre (*scilicet timentibus separari a te, qui es timor, quia Graece deos, unde et Deus Latine, timor*). Gerard's misguided criticism shows that what he took for the grammatical tradition of secular learning was in fact that of Christian authorities as well. To use Jacques Fontaine's characterization, he confused sacred grammar with profane grammar.⁴⁰¹

The treatment of dialectic is a lot more detailed in the *Deliberatio*. Gerard's recusation includes a reference to the style of dialecticians and rhetoricians: *Quaeso autem, ne dicas offendere stilum dialecticorum auditum, neque rusticam rationem magnum oratorem*. His basic approach consists of contrasting sophisticated dialectic and rhetoric with simplicity: *non eruditos, sed piscatores; non dialecticos, sed simplices*. This approach in itself is nothing new: it appears with a similar vocabulary in patristic,

⁴⁰⁰ CCCM 49, 87; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143, 38; Bede the Venerable, "Vita quinque sanctorum abbatum," PL 94, 718; Saint Augustine, "De diuersis quaestionibus," CCSL 44A, 239. See also De Rijk (1963: 35–86); Köhn (1986: 203–84); Reynolds (1996: 17–28).

⁴⁰¹ CCCM 49, 15; Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita sancti Martini," MGH: *Auctores antiquissimi* 4.1, 298; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 441; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 13; Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," PL 131, 448. See also Illmer (1971: 57–73); Illmer (1976: 430–55); Swiggers (1984: 279–89); Fontaine (1988c: XIII.311–29).

Carolingian and medieval authors such as Saint Ambrose (*Non creditur philosophis, creditur piscatoribus, non creditur dialecticis, creditur publicanis*), Saint Jerome (*Oro te ut, philosophorum argumentatione deposita, Christiana mecum simplicitate loquaris, si tamen non dialecticos sequaris, sed piscatores et rustici homines et uel rhetoricae uel dialecticae artis ignari*), Cassianus (*Qui simplicem piscatorum fidem corde simplici retinentes non eam syllogismis dialecticis et Tulliana facundia spiritu concipere mundano*), Gregory the Great (*Prius namque collegit indoctos, et postmodum philosophos; et non per oratores docuit piscatores, sed mira potentia per piscatores subegit oratores*), Ambrosius Autpertus (*Nihil mihi Plato, nihil Cicero, nihil Omerus, nihil Virgilius, nihil Donatus, nihil Pompeius, nihil Seruius, nihil Sergius, nihil Priscianus contulit, sed si quid fortasse habere uideor, hoc de horreo dominicae praedicationis a Christo accepisse me fateor, non quo mihi et eorum scientia fuerit denegata, sed quo plus delectatus sim uerbis humillimi piscatoris quam superbissimi oratoris, plus diuinis intenderim quam humanis eloquiis*) and Peter Damian (*Piscatorum namque sumus discipuli, non oratorum, ut ex ore Christiani non Latinitas Tullii, sed simplicitas resonet Christi*).⁴⁰² Gerard expands on this contrast further: *Vide miraculum dialectice, hoc autem uiso erubescere ad philosophiam piscatoris, et disce melius scire a rustico reciatore quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete*. Again, his approach and vocabulary is the same as that of Saint Ambrose (*Denique uerba philosophorum excludit simplex ueritas piscatorum*), Saint Jerome (*Legimus et litteras saeculares, legimus Platonem, legimus ceteros philosophos. Piscator noster inuenit quod philosophus non inuenit*), Arnobius (*quia non philosophi et rhetores, sed rustici et piscatores*), Gregory of Tours (*Sed quid timeo rusticitatem meam, cum dominus Redemptor et deus noster ad destruendam mundanae sapientiae uanitatem non oratores sed piscatores, nec philosophos sed rusticos praelegit?*), Hrabanus Maurus (*Non elegit reges aut senatores, aut philosophos, aut oratores. Imo uero elegit plebeios, pauperes, indoctos, piscatores*), Peter Damian (*cum idem ipsi nobiscum non philosophorum sed discipuli sint utique piscatorum*) and Otloh of Saint Emmeram (*Habeant amatores sapientiae secularis Tullium; nos imperiti et ignobiles, despecti et contemptibiles sequamur Christum, qui non philosophos, sed piscatores elegit discipulos*). Gerard's reference to the Greek authors (*quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete*) is an apparent confusion, possibly influenced by Isidore of Seville (*Aristarcus etiam et Aristophanes atque Sofocles tragoediarum scriptores*).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² CCCM 49, 12, 47; Saint Ambrose, "De fide," CSEL 78, 37; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus contra Luciferianos," PL 23, 167; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 367; Cassianus, "De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis," CSEL 17, 220; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143B, 1705; Ambrosius Autpertus, "Expositio in Apocalypsin," CCCM 27A, 636; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, vol. 4.3, Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani (Munich: MGH, 1989), 452.

⁴⁰³ CCCM 49, 166; Saint Ambrose, "De incarnationis dominicae sacramento," CSEL 79, 268; Saint Jerome, "Homilia in Iohannem euangelistam," CCSL 78, 519; Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 58;

Speaking of dialectic and rhetoric, Gerard adapts Varro's definition: *et Varro, qui nobiles geminas disciplinas diffiniendo sic distinguere dignatus est, dicendo, quod altera ab altera in manu hominis pugnus adstrictus et palma distensa, una uerba contrahens, alia distendens, una ad disserendum accutior, altera ad ea, que nititur, instruenda facundior, una ad coessentes, alia ad forenses procedit, quarum una studiosos requirit rarissimos, altera facundissimos populos*. This adaptation is a direct quote with minor adjustments from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.23.1–2: *Dialecticam et Rhetoricam Varro in nouem disciplinarum libris tali similitudine definiuit: "Dialectica et Rhetorica est quod in manu hominis pugnus adstrictus et palma distensa: illa uerba contrahens, ista distendens." Dialectica siquidem ad disserendas res acutior: Rhetorica ad illa quae nititur docenda facundior... Illa requirit rarissimos studiosos: haec frequenter et populos*. This Isidorian passage, in turn, is a verbatim quotation from Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.3.2. While various cases of the expression *nobilis disciplina* already appear in Cicero (*Lucullus* 42.129, 48.147) and also in Cassiodorus, the expression *acute disserere* figures in Cicero (*De finibus* 4.23.62: *acutius disseruisse*), Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 7.13.21: *Aristoteles enim, ut non nulla alia, magis acute quam uere ista disseruit*) and Saint Augustine (*acute disseratur*).⁴⁰⁴

Debating with the secular philosophers, Gerard adapts the threefold division of dialectic: *secundum phisicam et ethicam et loicam*. This threefold division of physics, ethics and logic is also based on Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.24.4: *In Physica igitur causa quaerendi, in Ethica ordo uiuendi, in Logica ratio intellegendi uersatur* (and also 8.6.3: *Idem autem philosophi triplici genere diuiduntur: nam aut Physici sunt, aut Ethici, aut Logici*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴⁰⁵ In Gerard's view, however, the threefold dialectic corresponds to the Holy Trinity: a supernatural physics represents the Father, an inestimable ethics represents the Son, and a principal logic represents the Holy Spirit: *Est autem quaedam natura, que omnem precellit phisicam, et ipsa principalissima phisica, cui incomparabilis adheret ethica incomparabilis et loica. Philosophi autem nudi et sine tegmine immortalissime philosophiae dixerunt de phisica, de etica uero et loica, sed ueram phisicam ignorauerunt, mirabilem ethicam nescierunt, inestimabilem loicam non cognouerunt. Nobis autem reuelauit per Spiritum suum, qui uenit querere nostrum mortale et facere ethicum, quod inprimis erat caninum, quamquam humanum. Ista phisica, de qua loquimur, immensus Pater, a quo*

Gregory of Tours, "De virtutibus sancti Martini," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 1, 586; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," *PL* 112, 20; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.2, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1988), 63; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Vita Bonifatii," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 57, 112; Isidore of Seville, "Chronica," *CCSL* 112, 89.

⁴⁰⁴ *CCCM* 49, 40; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," *CCSL* 96, 50; Saint Augustine, "De Genesi ad litteram," *CSEL* 28.1, 67.

⁴⁰⁵ *CCCM* 49, 124; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 413.

sempiternus Filius, ethica idem Filius semper a Patre... Loica a Patre et Filio procedens sanctissimus Spiritus, qui... ad perfectissimam optime disputandi rationem perduxit... Potenti uirtute insinuaturnaturalis phisica, demonstratur inaestimabilis ethica et loica principalis. His praeclarissimis denuntiationibus Pater, ex quo omnia, Filius, per quem omnia, Spiritus sanctus, in quo omnia... Phisica uero ideo Deus pater, quia natura deitas genuit, quod est, utique Deum, per quem omnia fecit, qui unigenitus est, licet generaret Deum Deus. Ethica autem Filius, circa quod superius positum est, et loica Spiritus sanctus... quamlibet in hoc dicto triplex admittatur sapientia, utique ex phisica et ethica et loica, quae semper una eademque habetur. While the interpretation of the correspondence between the threefold dialectic and the Holy Trinity seems unique, Gerard's vocabulary reveals that he is much indebted to his predecessors. His peculiar use of the superlative and grammatically redundant adjective *principalissima* reflects his reliance on the Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita by John Scottus Eriugena (*diuinorum mandatorum principalissima processio*). His reference to the *philosophi nudi* echoes the descriptions in Saint Augustine (*Per opacas quoque Indiae solitudines, cum quidam nudi philosophentur, unde gymnosophistae nominantur, adhibent tamen genitalibus tegmina, quibus per cetera membrorum carent*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 8.6.17: *Gymnosophistae nudi per opacas Indiae solitudines perhibentur philosophari, adhibentes tantum genitalibus tegmina*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*gymnasium etiam dicitur locus exercitii, ubi nudi luctabantur antiqui: gimnus enim grece nudus latine, hinc et gimnosophistae philosophi qui nudi disputantes philosophantur*). The expression *uera phisica* has its parallel in Cassianus: *ab illa uera physicae philosophiae disciplina*. The rhetorical term *disputandi ratio* is clearly Ciceronian (*De finibus* 2.6.18: *ratione ac uia disputandi, Orator* 32.113: *disputandi ratio et loquendi dialecticorum sit, oratorum autem dicendi et ornandi, Partitiones oratoriae* 23.78: *in ratione scientiaque disputandi*, and *Tusculanae disputationes* 5.4.11: *ratio disputandi*), and also appears in Justinian's corpus (*Digesta* 9.2.51: *contra rationem disputandi*) as well as in Saint Augustine (*disputandi rationem*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*disputandi ratio*). Gerard's elaboration on the Holy Trinity with the repetitions (*ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia*) is in turn clearly Augustinian: *Est autem creator deus ex quo omnia per quem omnia in quo omnia, et ideo trinitas, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus* and *ad significandum inuisibilem atque intellegibilem deum, non solum patrem sed et filium et spiritum sanctum, ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia*.⁴⁰⁶ Gerard concludes his panoramic overview of

⁴⁰⁶ CCCM 49, 171–2; John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia,” *PL* 122, 1074; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCSL* 48, 440; “Remigiana,” *CCCM* 171, 21; Cassianus, “Conlationes,” *CSEL* 13, 238; Saint Augustine, “Soliloquiorum libri duo,” *CSEL* 89, 82; Hrabanus Maurus, “Expositiones in Leviticum,” *PL* 108, 313; Saint Augustine, “De diuersis quaestionibus,” *CCSL* 44A, 239; Saint Augustine, “De Trinitate libri XV,” *CCSL* 50, 114. See also Romans 11.36; Hebrews 2.10.

the threefold dialectic as a manifestation of the Holy Trinity in the following way: *In superioribus triplicem istiusmodi philosophiam circa discursam disciplinam multipliciter reor inspectam. Accidit autem hic, quanquam aliter congressio disputandi propter inestimabilem naturam, quam omnem phisicam superare innuimus eandem phisicam dicentes, ex qua omnem et ethicam demonstrantes, per quam omnia, loicam uero introducentes, in qua omnia, hoc totum propter uentos, quorum phisica in promptu et genesis spirituum supermirabilis.* His expression *congressio disputandi* has its parallel in Cicero, *De officiis* 1.37.132: *disputationibus, congressionibus*.⁴⁰⁷

Furthermore, Gerard also mentions Aristotle's categories and their explications by Porphyry: *Mortales instructissimi quondam introductiones ad cognoscendam rerum ueritatem doctissime finxerunt. Secundum id uero denticatissimas leges dederunt, ponentes primum genus, deinde species et cetera, que tu docere non cessas, tandiu interponentes differentias, quousque ad proprium eius, de quo querebant, signata eius expressione, uenirent, quemadmodum tuus Porphyrius in suis Isagogis comprobatur fecisse, quamlibet contra prophetas et apostolos multa impiissimo ore latrasse.* The expressions *que tu docere non cessas* and *tuus Porphyrius* target Isingrim, the addressee of the work, whom the dedication calls *liberalis*. Gerard's description overall recalls Boethius (*Ergo haec substantialis diffinitio a M. Tullio sic explicatur. Oportere nos posito genere eius rei de qua quaeritur, subiungere species, ut alia quae uicina esse possint discretis communionibus separemus, et tandiu interponamus differentias, quandiu ad proprium eius de quo quaeritur signata eius expressione ueniamus*) and more closely Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.25 (*De Isagogis Porphyrii*): *Isagoga quippe Graece, Latine introductio dicitur, eorum scilicet qui Philosophiam incipiunt... Nam posito primo genere, deinde species et alia, quae uicina esse possunt, subiungimus ac discretis communionibus separamus, tamdiu interponentes differentias, quousque ad proprium eius de quo quaerimus signata eius expressione perueniamus... Isagogas autem ex Graeco in Latinum transtulit Victorinus orator, commentumque eius quinque libris Boetius edidit.* It is significant that Isidore's *quaerimus* becomes *querebant* in Gerard's loose quotation: the difference between Isidore's first person present and Gerard's third person past shows that for the latter the inquiries of the mortal philosophers are hardly more than a subject of pure antiquarian interest. The expression *doctissime finxerunt* echoes Saint Jerome (*doctissima finxerit Graecia*). The term *interponentes differentias*, besides being part of a verbatim quotation from Isidore, has its antecedent in Saint Augustine (*aliquas differentias interponens distulerat ordinem*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). Gerard's judgment of Porphyry (*impiissimo ore latrasse*), however, is obviously far from the Isidorian description. It applies instead a vocabulary used by Saint Ambrose (*impio ore maledicit*) and Cassianus (*ore im-*

⁴⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 173.

pio).⁴⁰⁸ Gerard's secondhand knowledge of and his negative approach to Porphyry are both apparent in his further references (*et scientias Porphirii Isagogas, quin potius et Aristotelis praedicamenta* and *ultra citroque dementia Porphirii inundauit*), which formally rely on Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.3.9: *Aristotelis categoriae siue praedicamenta*) and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 2.26.1: *Sequuntur Aristotelis categoriae, quae Latine praedicamenta dicuntur*) but have nothing to do with their learned appreciation of ancient philosophy.⁴⁰⁹

Since the treatment of rhetoric in Saint Gerard's *Deliberatio* is later discussed separately in detail, it is appropriate now to examine Gerard's approach to the *quadriuium*, which also confirms his indirect but important dependence on the seven liberal arts. Isidore of Seville provides a comprehensive overview of the development of the liberal arts, including the *quadriuium*, in *Etymologiae* 2.24.4–8: *Physicam apud Graecos primus perscrutatus est Thales Milesius, unus ex septem illis sapientibus. Hic enim ante alios caeli causas atque uim rerum naturalium contemplata ratione suspexit, quam postmodum Plato in quattuor definitiones distribuit, id est Arithmeticam, Geometricam, Musicam, Astronomiam. Ethicam Socrates primus ad corrigendos componendosque mores instituit, atque omne studium eius ad bene uiuendi disputationem perduxit, diuidens eam in quattuor uirtutibus animae, id est prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam... Logicam, quae rationalis uocatur, Plato subiunxit, per quam, discussis rerum morumque causis, uim earum rationabiliter perscrutatus est, diuidens eam in Dialecticam et Rhetoricam... In his quippe tribus generibus Philosophiae etiam eloquia diuina consistunt. Nam aut de natura disputare solent, ut in Genesi et in Ecclesiaste: aut de moribus, ut in Prouerbiis et in omnibus sparsim libris: aut de Logica, pro qua nostri Theoreticam sibi uindicant, ut in Cantico canticorum, et Euangeliiis.* (This Isidorian passage is quoted and partly paraphrased by Hrabanus Maurus.) Gerard quotes the passage with slight adjustments: *Tales Milisius, qui apud Grecos fisice primus perscrutator perhibetur... Plato, qui quattuor in phisica distributiones donauit: Aritmeticam, nimirum, quemadmodum ipse tuos plerumque doces, geometricam uero, musicam et astronomiam. Tuusque Socrates ad corrigendos mores componendos primus instituens et ad omne studium eius bene uiuendi disputacionem perducens eamque in quattuor uirtutibus anime diuidens, nimirum: Prudentia, iusticia, fortitudine, temperantia, subiungens loicam, que rationalis uocatur, per quam discursis rerum morumque causis uim earum rationabiliter perscrutatus, diuidens eam in supra praedictas geminas disciplinas, dialecticam utique et rethoricam, in quibus tribus generibus philosophie etiam diuina eloquia tota a peritis constare uidentur. Denique autem de natu-*

⁴⁰⁸ CCCM 49, 33; Boethius, "De diffinitione," *PL* 64, 896; Saint Jerome, "Adversus Iovinianum," *PL* 23, 273; Saint Augustine, "Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos," *CSEL* 84, 13; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas beati Pauli," *PL* 111, 1380; Saint Ambrose, "Explanatio Psalmorum XII," *CSEL* 64, 376; Cassianus, "Conlationes," *CSEL* 13, 271. See Gibson (1989–1990: 117–24).

⁴⁰⁹ CCCM 49, 33, 50. See also Szeffü (2000: 387–402).

ra disputare solent, ut in uolumine Geneseos et in Ecclesiasten, aut de moribus ut in Prouerbiis, sparsimque in omnibus pene libris, aut de loica, ut in diuino epitalamio. Gerard addresses his single reference to arithmetic to Isingrim (*Aritmeticam, nimirum, quemadmodum ipse tuos plerumque doces*).⁴¹⁰

He attributes the invention of the notions of the four principal virtues to Socrates, and he mentions the virtues elsewhere too: *uirtutes, quarum principales dicit doctissimorum deliberatio perfectissima uirorum quattuor, nimirum prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam et iusticiam*. The adjective *principales* suggests that Gerard took his enumeration from Isidore again: *in quatuor principales uirtutes: prudentiam, scilicet, atque iustitiam, fortitudinem, et temperantiam*. The notion of the four principal virtues is clearly classical: the same enumeration occurs in Cicero (*De finibus* 5.13.36: *Alterum autem genus est magnarum uerarumque uirtutum, quas appellamus uoluntarias, ut prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam et reliquas eiusdem generis*, and 5.21.58: *prudens, temperata, fortis, iusta ratio*, and *De inuentione* 2.53.159: *Habet igitur partes quattuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam*), Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 90.46, 115.3 and 120.11) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.17.5: *et prudens et temperatus et fortis et iustus*). This classical legacy survives through patristic mediation in authors such as Saint Ambrose (*Quae sunt quattuor initia uirtutum nisi unum prudentiae, aliud temperantiae, tertium fortitudinis, quartum iustitiae?*), Saint Jerome (*Audisse me memini quattuor perturbationes, de quibus plenissime Cicero in Tusculanis disputat: gaudii, aegritudinis, cupidinis et timoris, quorum duo praestantia, duo futura sunt, per quattuor significari animalia – de quibus et Vergilius breuiter: “Hinc metuunt, cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque” – , quae regi debeant ratione et potentia Dei, quibusque oppositae sint, immo impositae, uirtutes quattuor: prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia –* Jerome’s classical references are Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.7.14–5, and Vergil, *Aeneis* 6.733), Saint Augustine (*Quando quidem uirtutem in quattuor species distribuendam esse uiderunt, prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam*), Cassiodorus (*quattuor etiam uirtutibus animi dignitas comparatur, id est, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudine, et temperantia*) and Gregory the Great (*Possumus etiam per quatuor partes principales quattuor uirtutes accipere, ex quibus reliquae uirtutes oriuntur, uidelicet prudentiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam atque temperantiam*). The legacy left its mark in the works of Carolingian authors as well: Alcuin (*C. In quot partes diuiditur ethica? A. In quattuor quoque: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam. C. Logica in quot species diuiditur? A. In duas, in dialecticam et rhetoricam. In his quippe generibus tribus philosophiae etiam eloquia diuina consistunt*), Hrabanus Maurus (*quattuor uirtutes principales, hoc est, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia*) and Sedulius Scottus (*Quattuor circuli doctrinam euangelicam, quattuorque uirtutes, prudentiam, temperantiam,*

⁴¹⁰ CCCM 49, 40–1; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 416.

fortitudinem, iustitiam). The four principal virtues finally also appear in Peter Damian (*ita nihilominus et quattuor principales noscuntur esse uirtutes, iusticia scilicet, fortitudo, temperantia, atque prudentia*) and later in the chronicle literature of medieval Hungary as well, where they are applied to describe Saint Emeric's virtues (*Erat enim Beatus Emericus... iustitia, prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia... armatus ceterisque catholicis atque politicis uirtutibus adornatus*).⁴¹¹

Gerard makes virtually no reference to arithmetic or geometry, and his treatment of music hardly qualifies for the subject of the liberal arts. When he writes on matters related to music, he uses the Greek noun *melodema*, a practice resembling the vocabulary of John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*Deo acceptabilium prophetarum inspiratione melodema consonans*) but ultimately depending on Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.20.5: *Haec et melos a suauitate et melle dicta*.⁴¹² Gerard often enumerates various musical instruments and attributes them to the Devil: *sonitum tube, fistule, cithare et sambuce et psalterii et simphonie et uniueri generis musicorum... ad uocem tube, fistule et cithare, sambuce et psalterii et simphonie et uniueri generis musicorum... Haec quidem omnia secundum hoc instrumenta diaboli sunt. Non enim de musica Dei procedunt talia; operibus diaboli, postposito sonito tube et fistule et cithare et sambuce et psalterii et simphonie et diuersi generis musicorum; in timpanis et in ceteris generibus musicorum*. All these instruments are listed in Gerard's principal subject, the Book of Daniel (3.5, 3.7, 3.10 and 3.15). These Biblical passages also influenced the occurrence of musical instruments in Cassiodorus (*Nam et psalterium genus esse musicorum Daniel propheta testatur, inquires uocem tubae, fistulae, sambucae, citharae, psalterii et symphoniae omnisque generis musicorum*) and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 3.21–2: *tuba, fistula, sambuca, cithara, psalterium, symphonia*). Bede the Venerable later also provided a paraphrase of the relevant Biblical text (*Item Nabuchodonosor iussit omnes populos sibi subditos audita uoce symphoniarum et musicorum prostratos adorare statuam suam*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴¹³ Musical instruments also serve as metaphors in the *Deliberatio* such as *Iuxta enim theologicam tubam, tuba intonante apostolica*, or *cithara David*. Similar

⁴¹¹ CCCM 49, 175; Isidore of Seville, "Differentiae," PL 83, 94; Saint Ambrose, "De paradiso," CSEL 32.1, 273; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV," CCSL 75, 13–4; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 47, 114; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 62; Gregory the Great, "Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam," CCSL 142, 37; Alcuin, "De dialectica," PL 101, 952; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 215; Sedulius Scottus, "Explanationes in praefationes sancti Hieronymi ad euangelia," PL 103, 349; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.1, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1983), 161; "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.," SRH 1, 319. See Newhauser (1995: 420–8); Irwin (1999: 105–27).

⁴¹² CCCM 49, 3; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," PL 122, 1076.

⁴¹³ CCCM 49, 4, 5, 57; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 12; Bede the Venerable, "In Esdram et Nehemiam prophetas allegorica expositio," PL 91, 864; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio in librum Esther," PL 109, 638.

metaphors occur in patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Augustine (*tuba apostolica*), Leo the Great (*per uaticinia prophetarum, per euangelicam tubam apostolicamque doctrinam*), Venantius Fortunatus (*quod dat apostolica Paulus ab ore tuba*), Hrabanus Maurus (*tuba apostolicae praedicationis*), John Scottus Eriugena (*ad hanc magni theologi Dionysii praeclarissimam tubam*) and Hincmar of Laon (*ut apostolica intonat tuba*). Overall, Gerard's references to music are closer to exegetical and liturgical contexts than those of the liberal arts.⁴¹⁴

Compared to the other arts of the *quadriuium*, Gerard treats astronomy in a surprisingly detailed manner. His major source being Isidore's *Etymologiae*, his work indirectly relies on the astronomical views of classical and patristic authors who treated the subject earlier. The classical etymology of *mundus*, provided in Varro's *De lingua Latina* (6.2.3: *et a motu eorum qui toto caelo coniunctus mundus*) and adapted in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.29.1: *Qui ideo mundus est appellatus, quia semper in motu est*), appears in the Isidorian version in the *Deliberatio: Mundus, quod in motu sit semper, dicitur*.⁴¹⁵ Following the secular philosophers, Gerard employs the notion of the seven spheres of the sky: *Philosophi autem mundi, quemadmodum optime admittis, septem celos, id est planetas globorum consono motu introduxerunt, quique uolubile iterum celum atque ardentem uolunt, hocque nomine uocatum, quod tamquam uas celatum inpraessa signa habeat stellarum, cuius spera species quedam in rotundum formata, cuius centrum terra est ex omnibus partibus equaliter conclusa. Hanc speram nec principium uolunt habere instructi, nec terminum*. Parts of Gerard's description reflect Cicero (*De natura deorum* 1.8.18: *rotundum ardentem uolubilem deum*) and Saint Ambrose (*quia inpressa stellarum lumina uelut signa habeat*) but it is primarily a quotation from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.31–2: *Caelum philosophi rotundum, uolubile atque ardens esse dixerunt; uocatumque hoc nomine, eo quod tamquam uas caelatum inpressa signa habeat stellarum... Sphaera caeli est species quaedam in rotundo formata, cuius centrum terra est ex omnibus partibus aequaliter conclusa. Hanc sphaeram nec principium habere dicunt nec terminum... Philosophi autem mundi septem caelos, id est planetas, globorum consono motu introduxerunt* (and also *Etymologiae* 13.4.1: *Caelum uocatum eo quod, tamquam caelatum uas, inpressa lumina habeat stellarum ueluti signa*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴¹⁶ Gerard's description of the divine creation of the sky (*Hoc autem distinxit Deus claris luminibus et impleuit*

⁴¹⁴ CCCM 49, 16, 21, 150; Saint Augustine, "Contra litteras Petiliani," CSEL 52, 100; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138, 154; Venantius Fortunatus, "Carmina," MGH: *Auctores antiquissimi* 4.1, 191; Hrabanus Maurus, "Homiliae de festis praecipuis," PL 110, 57; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 17; Hincmar of Laon, "Opuscula et epistolae," PL 124, 988. See also Boynton (2000: 7–20).

⁴¹⁵ CCCM 49, 88.

⁴¹⁶ CCCM 49, 18; Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," CSEL 32.1, 54; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 263.

sole et luna, et astrorum micantium splendentibus signis adhornauit) is a quotation with minor differences from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.31.2 (and 13.4.1): *Distinxit enim Deus claris luminibus, et impleuit sole scilicet et lunae orbe fulgenti, et astrorum micantium splendentibus signis adornauit*. The Isidorian passages go back to earlier patristic tradition: the same description already occurs in Lactantius (*Suum uero habitaculum distinxit claris luminibus et impleuit, sole scilicet et lunae orbe fulgenti et astrorum micantium splendentibus signis adornauit*). Some of the key terms also appear in classics such as Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.444: *splendida signa*) and later in Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.838: *signis omne splendescere caelum*, and 9.912: *astra micantia*).⁴¹⁷

Gerard adapts the etymology of *firmamentum* as well: *celum, quod et firmamentum in eloquiis ideo uocatur, quod cursu sit siderum et ratis legibus fixisque firmatum. Interdum et celum pro aere accipitur, ubi uenti et nubes et procelle et turbines fiunt. Unus autem uestrum ait celum quod dicitur aer. Psalmographus nobilissimus noster: Volucres caeli, ait, cum euidētissimū sit uolucres in aere uolare*. There is also this: *Tali itaque et istiusmodi siderum cursu et ratis legibus firmamentum, de quo diximus, constat firmatum*. The Isidorian antecedent is the following (*Etymologiae* 13.4.2–5): *Caelum autem in Scripturis sanctis ideo firmamentum uocatur, quod sit cursu siderum et ratis legibus fixisque firmatum. Interdum et caelum pro aere accipitur, ubi uenti et nubes et procellae et turbines fiunt. Lucretius: Caelum, quod dicitur aer. Et Psalmus: "Volucres caeli" appellat, cum manifestum sit aues in aere uolare*. Isidore's passage also draws on Psalms (*LXX*) 8.9 and 103.12, as well as Psalms (*Hebr.*) 103.12, and is later partly quoted by Hrabanus Maurus. The classical and patristic antecedents include Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.132: *constituuntur in hoc caelo, qui dicitur "aer"*, 6.124–6: *cum subito ualidi uenti conlecta procella/ nubibus intorsit sese, conclusaque ibidem/ turbine uersanti magis ac magis undique nubem*, and 6.443–7: *Fit quoque ut inuoluat uenti se nubibus ipse/ uertex, conradens ex aere semina nubis,/ et quasi demissum caelo presterā imitetur./ Hic ubi se in terras demisit dissoluitque,/ turbinis inmanem uim prouomit atque procellae*) and Saint Augustine (*Quid ita dispositum est ab auctore naturae caeli et terrae, quem ad modum cursus ordinatissimus siderum? Quid tam ratis legibus fixisque firmatum?; Caelum enim dicitur etiam iste aer, ubi uenti et nubes et procellae et turbines fiunt*).⁴¹⁸

Reporting on secular philosophers' findings concerning the Sun (*Philosophi uero saeculi solis ignem dicunt aqua nutriri et e contrario elemento uirtutem luminis et caloris accipere. Unde sepiissime rorans et madidus conspicitur a mortalibus*), Gerard quotes Isidore again (*Etymologiae* 3.49.1: *Cuius ignem dicunt philosophi aqua nutriri,*

⁴¹⁷ CCCM 49, 19–20; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 142.

⁴¹⁸ CCCM 49, 23, 25; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 263; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 48, 771; Saint Augustine, "De agone Christiano," CSEL 41, 104.

et e contrario elemento uirtutem luminis et caloris accipere. Unde uidemus eum saepius madidum atque rorantem). This Isidorian passage is also quoted by Bede the Venerable and Hrabanus Maurus, and its classical and patristic antecedents can be found in the vocabulary of Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.339: *tunc quoque, ut ora dei madida rorantia barba*) and the more relevant description of Saint Ambrose (*Unde frequenter et solem uidemus madidum atque rorantem*).⁴¹⁹

Gerard describes the solar eclipse (when the Moon blocks the sunlight) and the lunar eclipse (when the Moon enters the shadow of the Earth). In his symbolic interpretation, the lunar eclipse is nothing other than the human immersion in secular affairs where there is no light, that is, the eclipse of Christ Himself: *Denique eclipsis lune dicitur esse, quoties in terre umbram luna incurrit. Non enim, ut prudenter a crepundiis doctus es, suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari arbitratur, unde et defectum patitur, si inter ipsam et solem umbra terre interueniat. Receptiue admittendum, quod quoties incurrimus saecularia, toties a lumine, quo illuminamur, utique Christo, sequestrati eclipsin patimur*. And later he adds the following: *Hoc autem prosecuti sumus propter umbram terre, que inter solem, quem audisti, et lunam, ut eclipsis fiat, interuenit. Infelix terra, que inter Deum et hominem discordiam operatur*. Gerard's model for describing the lunar eclipse is Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.59.1: *Eclipsis lunae est, quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit. Non enim suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari putatur, unde et defectum patitur si inter ipsam et solem umbra terrae interueniat*. The classical descriptions of the lunar eclipse include Cicero (*De diuinatione* 2.6.17: *motu lunae, quando illa e regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae*, and *De re publica* 1.14.22: *incideret luna tum in eam metam quae esset umbra terrae*) and Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.57: *cum conueniat umbra terrae lunam hebetari*), and later Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.870: *Item Lunae defectus fit, cum in contrario Luna posita, hoc est quinta decima, in eadem linea Solis umbra terrae metaliter infuscat. Nam Sol umbram terrae in suam lineam mittit, quam si Lunae corpus intrarit, quoniam uidere lumen Solis terra obstante non poterit*). The lunar eclipse also figures in the works of patristic and Carolingian authors such as Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *eclipsis lunae est quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*Ideoque uicina terris appellatur, in cuius umbram saepe incidens, solari luce deserta, defectum luminis patitur*). Gerard's symbolic interpretation, more importantly, also draws on Isidore of Seville, who attributes this interpretation to the Church Fathers: *Caeterum doctores nostri mystice huius eclipsis mysterium in Christo dixerunt esse completum*.⁴²⁰

Gerard's description of the solar eclipse follows similar patterns: *Denique eclipsis*

⁴¹⁹ CCCM 49, 28–9; Bede the Venerable, “De natura rerum,” CCSL 123A, 210; Hrabanus Maurus, “De computo,” CCCM 44, 256; Saint Ambrose, “Exameron,” CSEL 32.1, 53.

⁴²⁰ CCCM 49, 67–8, 69; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” PL 122, 715; Isidore of Seville, “De natura rerum,” PL 83, 993.

demonstratur, quoties luna tricesima ad eandem lineam, qua sol uehitur, peruenit, eique se obiciens solem obscurat. Nam deficere nobis sol uidetur, dum illi orbis lune opponitur. He quotes Isidore (*Etymologiae* 3.58.1: *Eclipsis solis est, quotiens luna tricesima ad eandem lineam, qua sol uehitur, peruenit, eique se obiciens solem obscurat. Nam deficere nobis sol uidetur, dum illi orbis lunae opponitur*), who in turn relies on Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *Eclipsis solis est quotiens in luna tricesima ipsa luna nobis apparet, et per ipsam nobis sol obscuratur; eclipsis lunae est quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit*). The classical antecedents of the description of the solar eclipse include Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.15.11: *Ideo nec sol umquam deficit, nisi cum tricesimus lunae dies est*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.869: *Nam cum Luna scandens descendensue in solarem lineam inciderit, si tricesima est, hoc est omni corpore subiecta Soli, obscurationem Solis terris facit*).⁴²¹ Later on in the work, the clause *luna sub eterna defectione constituta* recalls similar expressions of classical and patristic authors such as Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.61.153: *defectiones solis et lunae*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 1.10.47: *de lunae defectione*) and Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 2.28.4: *de lunae solisque defectionibus*), as well as Saint Ambrose (*menstrua lunae defectione*).⁴²²

The classical etymology of the noun *stella* also appears in the *Deliberatio*: *Stelle quippe a stando dicuntur*. The immediate source is Isidore (*Etymologiae* 3.71.3: *Stellae dictae a stando, quia semper fixae stant in coelo nec cadunt*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus), who relies on the classical tradition, especially on Varro, mediated by Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.817: *quidam Romanorum non per omnia ignarus mei stellas ab stando, sidera a considendo, astra ab Astraeo dicta fuisse commemorat*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *quia dum stella semper moueatur, tamen in aliquibus locis stare uidetur; nam et Varro, in libro quem de Astrologia conscripsit, stellam commemorat ab stando dictam*).⁴²³ Furthermore, Gerard distinguishes between the singular *stella*, the plural *sidera*, and the *astra*, which is a complex constellation: *Peribentur etiam differre inter stellas et sidera et astra: Stelle singulares, sidera ex plurimis facta, ut Hiadas et Pliadas cernimus. Astra stelle grandes, ut Orion, Bootes*. He elaborates on the subject later as well: *dicunt astra potiora ceteris, quemadmodum utique contemplantur, sidera autem ex plurimis fieri stellis, stelle uero singulares*. There is also this: *Igitur sidera ex pluribus luciferis narrantur ut Hiades et Pliades... Unde Pliades a pluralitate uocate... Pliades uero, septem cum sint stelle, ac per hoc numquam uidentur nisi sex*. (Further relevant passages of his include *signa celestia et stelle et astra et sidera* and *astris, sideribus, stellis*.) The principal source is Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.60.1–2: *Stellae et sidera et astra inter se differunt. Nam stella*

⁴²¹ CCCM 49, 77.

⁴²² CCCM 49, 103; Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," CSEL 32.1, 9.

⁴²³ CCCM 49, 81; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," CCCM 44, 248. See also Murgia (1968: 341).

est quaelibet singularis. Sidera uero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades. Astra autem stellae grandes, ut Orion, Bootes, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus, and 3.71.13: *Pliades a pluralitate dictae... Sunt enim stellae septem ante genua Tauri; ex quibus sex uidentur, nam latet una*) and his *De natura rerum* (*Pleiades autem ex pluralitate uocatae sunt*). The vocabulary of all these passages is clearly classical, recalling Vergil (*Georgica* 1.137–8: *nauita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit/ pleiadas, hyadas, claramque Lycaonis arcton*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 13.293: *Pleiadasque Hyadasque immunemque aequoris Arcton*) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.14.21: *sed sunt stellae quidem singulares... sidera uero, quae in aliquod signum stellarum plurium compositione formantur*). Influential representatives of the patristic and Carolingian tradition of Biblical commentary also applied this classical vocabulary while explaining Job 38.31 (*numquid coniungere ualebis micantes stellae Pliadis aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare*), such as Saint Jerome (*Pleiades appellat stellae, quae iunctae, uelut septem esse monstrantur*), Gregory the Great (*micantes Pleiades, quae et septem sunt... Pleiades stellae... a pluralitate uocatae sunt*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*micantes Pleiades quae et septem*).⁴²⁴

Gerard's references to the *sidera errantia* (*Verum non in eodem stellae erraticae iudicande, quin potius discurrentes; suis sideribus errantibus; sidera errantia*) reflect the vocabulary of the Bible (Jude 13: *sidera errantia quibus procella tenebrarum in aeternum seruata est*) and the descriptions in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (3.63.1: *Mouentur uero quaedam sicut planetae, id est erratae, quae cursus suos uagos certa tamen definitione conficiunt*, and 3.67.1: *Quaedam stellae ideo planetae dicuntur, id est errantes, quia per totum mundum uario motu discurrunt*). The expression originates in Latin classics such as Cicero (*De natura deorum* 1.31.87: *errantium siderum*), Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 36.11: *Stellarum iste discursus*), Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.32: *errantium siderum*, and 2.100: *discursus stellarum*), Gellius (*Noc-tes Atticae* 14.1.23: *errantium siderum*) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.20.5: *erratica stella*, and 1.21.6: *Ideo stellae, quae per spatia grandiora discurrunt*). Due to the Bible and the Latin classics, the expression frequently occurs in patristic and medieval Latin.⁴²⁵

Gerard provides a description of the location of the various stars: *stelle et astra et sidera continentur atque rotantur, quae diuersis interuallis distant a terra*. In his interpretation, it means the following: *Ideo recte ecclesiastice stelle quibusdam uariis interuallis distant a terra, id est diuersis beatorum operum meritis segregantur a mundo*. The description itself is a loose quotation from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.65.1: *Stellae inter se diuersis interuallis distant a terra, propterea dispari claritate magis minus*

⁴²⁴ CCCM 49, 81, 88, 92, 102, 104; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 271; Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," PL 83, 999; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in librum Job," PL 26, 759; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143B, 1481; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 273. See Rose (1932: 194).

⁴²⁵ CCCM 49, 88, 102, 103.

nostris oculis apparent. Nam multae maiores sunt his quas uidemus conspicuas, sed longius positae paruae uidentur a nobis), while Isidore in turn relies heavily on Saint Augustine (*Quaeri etiam solet, utrum caeli luminaria ista conspicua, id est sol et luna et stellae, aequaliter fulgeant, sed, quod diuersis interuallis distent a terra, propterea diuersa claritate magis minusque nostris oculis adpareant*).⁴²⁶

Gerard's description of *Lucifer* is the following: *Lucifer, non ille, qui inducit occasum, sed qui diem consurgens aurore... Sic deiectus est Lucifer occiduus et omnia sua astra pariter cum eodem*. It primarily reflects the relevant Biblical passage (Job 38.32: *numquid producis luciferum in tempore suo et uesperum super filios terrae consurgere facis*), but its further parallels include classical Latin poets such as Tibullus (*Elegiae* 1.3.93–4: *Hoc precor, hunc illum nobis Aurora nitentem/ Luciferum roseis candida portet equis*), Ovid (*Heroides* 18.112: *Præuius Auroræ Lucifer ortus erat*, and *Metamorphoses* 4.629–30: *dum Lucifer ignes/ euocet Auroræ, currus Aurora diurnos*) and Statius (*Thebais* 12.50: *tertius Auroræ pugnabat Lucifer*). The patristic and Carolingian antecedents are Saint Jerome (*Pro Lucifero qui Hebraice dicitur Elil, Aquila transtulit: Ululantem Auroræ filium*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*sub symbolo lucifere stelle a sanctis theologis innuitur, quam stellam mysticam clara sequitur aurora*).⁴²⁷

The description of *Arcton* and *Arctophylax* (*Pulchre uidetur Arcton signum magnum in axe, et Arctophylax sequens similia uero*) is Isidorian (*Etymologiae* 3.71.6–8: *Signorum primus Arcton, qui in axe fixus septem stellis in se reuolutis rotatur... Arctophylax dictus, quod Arcton, id est Helicem Ursam, sequitur*). It also reflects Roman and Christian Latin poetry such as that of Ovid (*Fasti* 2.189–90: *signa propinqua micant: prior est, quam dicimus Arcton,/ Arctophylax formam terga sequentis habet*, and *Tristia* 1.3.48: *uersaque in axe suo Parrhasis Arctos erat*), Lucan (*Bellum ciuile* 10.250: *frigore ab Arctoo medium reuocata sub axem*) and Sedulius (*Arcton dextra tenet, medium laeua erigit axem*, quoted by Bede the Venerable and Hrabanus Maurus).⁴²⁸ The notion of *Arcturus* consisting of seven stars (*Arcturus autem septem stellis consistit, in modum plaustri rotans se semper*) is Isidorian again (*Arcturus est ille quem Latini Septentrionem dicunt, qui septem stellarum radii fulgens, in seipso reuolutus rotatur, qui ideo Plaustum uocatur, quia in modum uehiculi uoluitur*), and it also appears in Gregory the Great (*per Arcturi septem stellas*).⁴²⁹

Speaking of *Orion* (*Orion armatus ut gladius stellarumque luce terribilis atque*

⁴²⁶ CCCM 49, 88, 92; Saint Augustine, "De Genesi ad litteram," CSEL 28.1, 58.

⁴²⁷ CCCM 49, 82; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," CCSL 73, 240; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 45.

⁴²⁸ CCCM 49, 89; Sedulius, "Paschale carmen," CSEL 10, 128; Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae euangelium expositio," CCSL 120, 401; Hrabanus Maurus, "In honorem sanctae crucis," CCCM 100, 103.

⁴²⁹ CCCM 49, 93; Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," PL 83, 998; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143B, 1485.

clarissimus), Gerard loosely quotes Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.71.11: *Hunc Latini Iugulam uocant, quod sit armatus, ut gladius, et stellarum luce terribilis atque clarissimus*) and *De natura rerum* (*Orion stella est. Hic autem Orion gladius dictus est. Unde etiam eum Latini Iugulam uocant, sidus, ut uidetur, armatum et stellarum luce terribile, quod ignorare magnae difficultatis est, adeo ut quamuis rudes oculos, tamen prae fulgoris splendore in seipsum rapiat*). The Isidorian passages rely on the classical tradition (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 18.256: *gladius Orionis exoritur... Orionis gladius*), transmitted by patristic authorities such as Tertullian (*Orionis armati manus*) and Gregory the Great (*quasi Orion gladium teneat amator insanus*). The relevant lines of Vergil's *Aeneis* (3.516–7: *Arcturum, pluuiasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones/ Armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona*) are quoted by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.11.10) and Saint Jerome.⁴³⁰ The description of Sirius (*Sirius stella, que canicula dicitur, et estiuus temporibus in medio celi centro atque soli adiuncta duplicatius uaporatur*) is also Isidorian (*Etymologiae* 3.71.14: *Canicula stella, quae et Sirius dicitur, aestiuus mensibus in medio centro caeli est: et dum sol eam ascenderit, coniuncta cum sole duplicatur calor ipsius, et dissoluuntur corpora et uaporantur*). The classical antecedent is Servius, *In Vergilii Georgicon libros* 4.424: *Sirius enim a poetis et pro sole ponitur: ab aliquo eorum canicula intellegitur*.⁴³¹ The etymology of comets (*Stella cometes ex se luminis comas effundens*) comes from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.71.16: *Cometes stella est dicta eo quod comas luminis ex se fundat*) and *De natura rerum* (*Cometes stella est quae uelut comas luminis ex se fundit*). Its classical antecedents include Seneca (*Naturales quaestiones* 7.4.1: *Hic enim ait cometas in numero stellarum errantium poni a Chaldaeis tenerique cursus eorum*), Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.89: *cometas Graeci uocant, nostri crinitas, horrentes crine sanguineo et comarum modo in uertice hispidas*), Suetonius (*Diuius Claudius* 46.1: *exortus crinitae stellae, quam cometen uocant*) and Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 10.272: *Plinius etiam Secundus dicit, cometas stellas esse naturales*).⁴³²

The description of *Vesperus* (*Vesperus stella, que oriens luciferum, occidens uesperum facit*) is a quotation from Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 3.71.19: *Vesperus stella est occidentalis... Fertur autem quod haec stella oriens luciferum, occidens uesperum facit. De qua Statius: Et alterno dependitur unus in ortu*). This Isidorian passage, in turn, quotes Statius' *Thebais* (*Thebais* 6.241: *sidera et alterno deprenditur unus in ortu*). Further similar descriptions of *Vesperus* include Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.883: *nunc post occasum Solis effulgens Vesper uel Vesperugo nominatur*), Saint Ambrose (*quando uesperus surgat, quando lucifer, cur ille ue-*

⁴³⁰ CCCM 49, 93; Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," PL 83, 999; Tertullian, "Scorpiacae," CSEL 20, 168; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143, 464; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," CCSL 76, 280.

⁴³¹ CCCM 49, 93.

⁴³² CCCM 49, 93; Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," PL 83, 1000.

spertinus, hic matutinus inradiet), Saint Jerome (*qui inter stellas ceteras mane oriebatur, et suo uitio de lucifero uesper effectus est, et non oriens, sed occidens* and *Lucifer qui ipse uesper est, dum ad orientem et ad occidentem rutilus micat*) and Venantius Fortunatus (*lucifer an uitae mors sibi uesper erit*).⁴³³ Gerard's further elaboration on *Vesperus* (*Hoc autem propter stellam Vesperum significatiue dictum, que noctem ducere et diem sequi perhibetur*) is also Isidorian (*Etymologiae* 3.71.19: *Est autem et ipsa ex quinque stellis planetis, noctem ducens et solem sequens*).⁴³⁴

He inserts his personal comments into a lengthy quotation from Isidore on the mythological names of various signs of the zodiac: *Quid itaque bestialius, qui pisces, arietes, hircos, tauros, ursos, canes, cancros et scorpiones transtulerunt? Nec autem suffecit id, immo nominibus deorum suorum Pheton, Phenonta, Phiriona, Hesperus, Stelbon, nimirum Iouis, Saturni, Martis, Veneris atque Mercurii dedicauerunt, submersi omni superstitione praeuente et errore inuoluti diabolicaque opinione armati, ponentes aquilam et cicinum Iouis propter insulsos rumores, Perseum et Andromedam coniugem eiusdem, aurigam et Rictonium, Calisto, Licaonis imperantis natam, quam Arcton nominare consueuerunt liram, centaurum, Scolaphionis Achillesque impletoem. Tali quidem dementia gentilium extitit, que etiam hodie in plerisque uigilare non dubitatur.* (The original passages in the *Etymologiae* are 3.71.20–1: *Quarum nomina Graeca sunt Phaethon, Phaenon, Pyrion, Hesperus, Stilbon. Has Romani nominibus deorum suorum, id est Iouis, Saturni, Martis, Veneris, atque Mercurii sacrauerunt*, and 3.71.32–6: *Et miranda dementia gentilium, qui non solum pisces, sed etiam arietes et hircos et tauros, ursas et canes et cancros et scorpiones in caelum transtulerunt. Nam et aquilam et cignum propter Iouis fabulas inter caeli astra eius memoriae causa conlocauerunt. Perseum quoque et uxorem eius Andromedam, posteaquam sunt mortui, in caelum receptos esse crediderunt... Aurigam et Ericthonium in caeli astra conlocauerunt... Sic Callisto, Lycaonis regis filia... eamque Arcton... appellauit. Sic Lyra pro Mercurio in caelum locata; sic Centaurus Chiron, propter quod nutrierit Aesculapium et Achillem, inter astra dinumeratus est.*)⁴³⁵

The etymology of *sol* and *luna* in the *Deliberatio* is the following: *Sol autem dicitur, quod solus appareat et luna quasi lucina eo, quod ab ipso sole lucem accipiat.* This etymology is also from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.71.1–2: *Sol appellatus eo quod solus appareat, obscuratis fulgore suo cunctis sideribus. Luna dicta quasi Lucina, ablata media syllaba. De qua Vergilius* (Vergil, *Eclogae* 4.10): *"Casta faue Lucina."* *Sumpsit autem nomen per deriuationem a solis luce, eo quod ab eo lumen accipiat, acceptumque reddat.* (This Isidorian passage is also quoted by Hrabanus Maurus.) The

⁴³³ CCCM 49, 93; Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," CSEL 32.1, 255; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," CCSL 73, 240; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV," CCSL 75, 20; Venantius Fortunatus, "Carmina," MGH: Auctores antiquissimi 4.1, 136.

⁴³⁴ CCCM 49, 94.

⁴³⁵ CCCM 49, 83–4.

origin of the description of *luna* and *lucina* is obviously classical. Isidore quotes Vergil's *Eclogae* (4.10: *casta faue Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo*), but *Lucina* also appears already in Terence's *Andria* (473: *Iuno Lucina, fer opem, serua me, obsecro*) and, more importantly, in Horace's *Carmen saeculare* (15: *siue tu Lucina probas uocari*), where Horace is addressing Diana. Servius aptly sums up these occurrences in his commentary on Vergil (*In Vergilii Bucolicon librum* 4.10: "*Casta faue Lucina modo Lucinam Dianam accipimus: sic Horatius 'siue te Lucinam probas uocari,' seu te penitus Iunonem. Terentius Iunonem Lucinam dicit, ut 'Iuno Lucina, fer opem, s.m.o.': tamen ambae unum sunt. Sane hic Dianam Lucinam non inmerito designat; prior enim genita parturienti matri Apollinem tulisse auxilium dicitur*). Apart from these Roman poets, the classical tradition of the etymology of *sol* and *luna* also includes Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.27.68: *cum sol dictus sit uel quia solus ex omnibus sideribus est tantus uel quia cum est exortus obscuratis omnibus solus apparet, luna a lucendo nominata sit; eadem est enim Lucina*) and later Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.20.4: *quod talis solus appareat, sol uocetur*). A critical evaluation of this pagan etymology from a Christian point of view appears in Firmicus Maternus: *Solem dici uoluerunt, non quia solus est, ut quidam uolunt – quia illic et caelum est et luna et alia plurima sidera quae uidemus, ex quibus quaedam una serie et cohaerentia perpetua simulque copulata lucent, alia toto sparsa caelo uagos cursus suis metiuntur erroribus –, sed ideo Sol appellatur, quia cum ortus fuerit obscuratis ceteris sideribus luceat solus. Luna etiam – haec eadem Lucina – a nocturno lumine nomen accepit: hanc etiam quidam Dianam dici uoluerunt, quod per noctem lucens hominibus alterum paene diem faciat.*⁴³⁶ Another term of Gerard's relevant to astronomy is *emisperion*, which probably reflects the chapter *De hemisphaeriis* in Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.43.⁴³⁷

Gerard's knowledge of the *quadriuium* is overall based on the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. Since Isidore's contribution itself is strongly embedded in the classical tradition, this mediation connects Gerard to the ancient classics and enables him to at least make references to the Greek and Roman authorities. His indirect references have a twofold implication. First, they demonstrate that the pieces of the classical legacy that indirectly reached Gerard were superficial and fragmentary. Second, on the other hand, they also show that he had a strong obsession with the pagan authorities, no matter how little he knew about them directly.⁴³⁸

Gerard's approach to the seven liberal arts in particular and to the classical tradition

⁴³⁶ CCCM 49, 61; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," CCCM 44, 248; Firmicus Maternus, "De errore profanarum religionum," CSEL 2, 101.

⁴³⁷ CCCM 49, 75. See Betten (1923: 74–90); Laistner (1941: 251–75); Stevens (1980: 268–77); Fontaine (1988b: XII.271–300); Chance (1994: 30–44, 139–47); Szegfü (1998: 57–68).

⁴³⁸ See Klinkenberg (1959: 1–32); Beaujouan (1972: 639–67); Hellgardt (1973: 7–26); Evans (1975: 151–64); Englisch (1994).

in general can be best interpreted against the background of his preference of divine wisdom to human knowledge and faith in God to human wisdom. First of all, he paraphrases the famous Ciceronian notion in the following way: *Quidam uero uolunt scientiam differenter in humanis, sapienciam in diuinis*. Cicero's definitions (*De officiis* 2.2.5: *Sapientia autem est, ut a ueteribus philosophis definitum est, rerum diuinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia*, and *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.26.57: *sapientiam esse rerum diuinarum et humanarum scientiam cognitionemque*) were quoted by Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 89.5), Lactantius, Saint Augustine and Isidore of Seville. Very similar observations occur in Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 12.2.8: *ut oratoris uita cum scientia diuinarum rerum sit humanarumque coniuncta*) and Saint Augustine again (*si ita inter se distant haec duo ut sapientia diuinis, scientia humanis attributa sit rebus*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴³⁹ Gerard challenges the popular Ciceronian notion from a traditional Christian standpoint: *Nemo umquam ad fidem Dei legitur uenisse sapientia humana*. Similar statements appear already in Leo the Great (*Hanc autem fidem non terrena sapientia reperit, nec opinio humana persuasit*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*uel philosophus gentilis in humanae sapientiae scriptis, uel paganus persecutor qui nondum peruenit ad fidem*).⁴⁴⁰ According to Gerard, the enemies of faith disseminate poison: *Que diuina antidota omnia interimunt et ad nihilum deducunt, non inuenta ab Ipocrate et Galieno, sed a Spiritu sancto confecta*. His references to human medicine parallel those of Saint Jerome (*Galenus uir doctissimus, Hippocratis interpres; quasi spiritualis Hippocrates*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 1.31.2: *legite Hippocratem atque Galienum Latina lingua conuersos*).⁴⁴¹

Nevertheless, human scholarship and divine wisdom are strongly connected, just like the pagan heritage and its Christian context. Gerard emphasizes this idea by exploiting the traditional Christian interpretation of the Biblical story about the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum*. This interpretation is set forth in detail by Saint Augustine, who provides a thorough justification of the use of the pagan heritage by Christians for pious purposes, although always claiming the superiority of the Christian doctrine over the statements of the ancient Greek and Latin authors.⁴⁴² Gerard did his best to promote the patristic tradition of interpreting the pagan heritage with the help of the popular meta-

⁴³⁹ CCCM 49, 28; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 213–4; Saint Augustine, "Contra Academicos," CCSL 29, 12; Isidore of Seville, "Differentiae," PL 83, 93; Saint Augustine, "De Trinitate libri XV," CCSL 50A, 415; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," PL 112, 520.

⁴⁴⁰ CCCM 49, 48; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138A, 493; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum," PL 109, 913.

⁴⁴¹ CCCM 49, 64; Saint Jerome, "Adversus Iovinianum," PL 23, 300; Saint Jerome, "Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum," PL 23, 890.

⁴⁴² Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," CCSL 32, 73–7. See Laistner (1950: 47–61); Outler (1959: 213–20); Ellspermann (1985: 174–247); Hughes (2000: 96–100); Clark (2001: 133–47); Nadeau (2001: 10–11).

phor of despoiling the Egyptians: *Verum tantum est nobis nonumquam mortalium ac seducentium accomodare animum lectionibus, quantum extitit Dei populo iubente Domino per Moysen sacrum uasa argentea et aurea mutuo accipere Egyptiorum: In agris aliquando lilia et in spinis rose, immo et ex his leguntur plerumque a nonnullis quemadmodum de terra aurum et de ceteris cetera*. Gerard's own contribution to this metaphor relies on Song of Songs 2.2: *sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias*. Classical and patristic antecedents of this metaphor include Ovid (*Ars amatoria* 2.115–6: *Nec uiolae semper nec hiantia lilia florent,/ Et riget amissa spina relictas rosas*), the poetry of Isidore of Seville (*Sunt hic plura sacra sunt hic mundi alia plura,/ Ex his si qua placent carmina tolle, lege./ Prata uides plena spinis et copia floris,/ Si non uis spinas sumere sume rosas*) and Bede the Venerable (*Sed multo cautius necesse est acutis rosa in spinis quam mollibus lilium colligatur in foliis multo securius in apostolicis quam in Platoniciis quaeritur consilium salubre pagellis*). Although in a different context, the same metaphor appears in the hagiographic literature of eleventh-century Hungary as well: the legend of Saints Zoerard and Benedict by Bishop Maurus of Pécs (*ex rusticitate quasi rosa ex spinis ortus, nomine Zoerardus*).⁴⁴³

Gerard's approach is similar to that of the eleventh-century monk Otloh of Saint Emmeram, who also elaborated on the liberal arts and the metaphor of despoiling the Egyptians. Otloh's views on divine and secular philosophy show that he was not against the liberal arts themselves but against the misuse of these arts. He realized that many of his contemporaries were studying in the schools in order to achieve worldly glory through the reputation of secular learning: *Cum plures in schola constitutos agnoscerem, ad hoc quam maxime uacare, ut litterarum saecularium notitiam caperent, quae auditores suos studiosissime docent carnalia appetere, pro obtinenda mundi gloria contendere, syllogismorum et argumentorum subtilitates discere, ut quoslibet simplices cum uerbositate huiusmodi circumuentos possint irridere*.⁴⁴⁴ Otloh's explanation of the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* makes it clear, however, that he does not consider the arts altogether unworthy, because even the Church Fathers adapted the valuable parts of the pagan heritage: *Sicut filii Israel quondam ex Aegypto profecti Aegyptios in auro et argento uestibusque pretiosis despoliauerunt, eaque secum deferentes ad honorem Dei posuerunt: ita unusquisque a saeculi uanitate ad spiritualis uitae puritatem conuersus agere debet. Si quam in saecularibus litteris notitiam habuit, eligat ex eis pretiosa quaeque, id est, honestae et spirituali uitae congrua dicta, illaque secum tollat tam ad laudem Dei, quam ad aedificationem fidelium. Sic enim multi uenerabiles sanctique patres fecisse leguntur, ponentes in suis scriptis plurimas sententias, quae uelut aurum in iure positum in libris gentilium reperiuntur*.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ CCCM 49, 33; Isidore of Seville, "Versus," CCSL 113A, 213; Bede the Venerable, "In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII," CCSL 119, 121; Maurus, "Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti," SRH 2, 357.

⁴⁴⁴ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Sermo de eo quod legitur in Psalmis," PL 93, 1103.

⁴⁴⁵ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Sermo de eo quod legitur in Psalmis," PL 93, 1116.

Granted, Otloh of Saint Emmeram preferred the experts of the Bible to those of dialectic (*Peritos autem dico magis illos qui in sacra Scriptura quam qui in dialectica sunt instructi*) and, symbolically, humble words to arrogant verbosity (*simulque attendat quod Deo magis placent rustica humilium dicta quam eximia uerbositas arrogantium, et in saecularis litteraturae pompa gloriantium*).⁴⁴⁶ Nonetheless, he advised that no cleric be promoted to priesthood without knowledge in the liberal arts (*Clerici liberalis scientiae nimis ignari, nullum sacerdotalem gradum accipere sunt digni*) because the pagan heritage also contributes to spiritual wisdom through divine providence (*Quaecunque spiritualis sapientiae uerba gentiles uiri protulerunt, haec ideo disponente Deo prolata sunt, ut Christiani non solum a suis, sed etiam ab alienis instruerentur*).⁴⁴⁷ When it comes to artistic expression, however, Otloh resumes his apparent rigor, as in the following passage of his poem: *Forsitan ex aliquo quaerenda haec norma profano/ Ut sunt: Horatius, Terentius et Iuuenalis,/ Ac plures alii, quos sectatur schola mundi,/ Pro studio carnis carnalia dicta ferentes,/ Ut per eos nobis pandatur lex pietatis,/ Instinctu Satanae, qui promunt pessima quaeque?/ Haec ita nonnulli peruerso more fatentur*. This approach is the same as that of the contemporary Onulf, master of the Speyer cathedral, who reminds the reader of Saint Jerome's famous dream: *Perpende Iheronimum diuinae scripturae scientissimum, fidei catholicae doctorem constantissimum; perpende quid ei cum acerrime cederetur, sit dictum: Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*.⁴⁴⁸

Gerard's and Otloh's apparent ambivalence towards secular learning is deeply rooted in the patristic and Carolingian tradition. A commentary on Boethius, attributed to Bede the Venerable, reports that the fear of dialecticians made its way even into the litany: *Fertur etiam praecepisse quod in litania diceretur: "A dialecticis, Libera nos, Domine."* On the other hand, a passage in Hrabanus Maurus suggests that the precious parts of pagan philosophy are not only to be tolerated but also to be taken away from their unjust possessors: *Ecce de septem liberalibus artibus philosophorum, ad quam utilitatem discendae sint catholicis, satis, ut reor, superius diximus. Illud adhuc adiicimus, quod philosophi ipsi qui uocantur, si qua forte uera et fidei nostrae accommodata in dispensationibus suis seu scriptis dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam tanquam iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum uindicanda*. Hrabanus Maurus' advice is no less than a verbatim quotation from Saint Augustine: *Philosophi autem qui uocantur si qua forte uera et fidei nostrae accommodata dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam*

⁴⁴⁶ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Dialogus de tribus quaestionibus," *PL* 146, 60; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "De admonitione clericorum et laicorum," *PL* 146, 245–6.

⁴⁴⁷ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber proverbiorum," *PL* 146, 306, 328.

⁴⁴⁸ Schauwecker (1963: 196–7). See Wallach (1950: 35–56); Evans (1977: 29–54); Resnick (1986: 165–78); Resnick (1987: 241–52); Munk Olsen (1996a: 7–16); Gäbe (1999: 97–110).

*tamquam ab iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum uindicanda.*⁴⁴⁹ Usually, even the books of an ecclesiastical nature could not be understood without at least some level of expertise in the liberal arts. As Notker Labeo, monk in the monastery of Saint Gall, expressed it in the early eleventh century, *artibus illis, quibus me onustare uultis, ego renunciaui neque fas mihi est eis aliter quam sicut instrumentis frui; sunt enim ecclesiastici libri et precipue quidem in scholis legendi, quos impossibile est sine illis prelibatis ad intellectum integrum duci.*⁴⁵⁰

While Gerard's use of his sources is generally indirect (and he never read as many authors as he refers to), the opposition of the classical and patristic tradition in the *Deliberatio* originates in the same literary convention as one can find in the works of his learned predecessors and contemporaries such as Otloh of Saint Emmeram. As is evident from his references to and critical treatment of pagan antiquity, Gerard possessed the knowledge that an average, but not better-trained, literate cleric could gain of classical Latin literature. His training is predominantly patristic, and his literary technique fits the Carolingian perception in which the representative authors of pagan antiquity and the Church Fathers are similarly considered *antiqui*. This perception is the continuation of the late antique grammatical tradition that called the classical Latin poets *antiqui*. Cassiodorus provides the same approach in his *De orthographia*: *Erit itaque propositum nostrum quae competenter modernae consuetudini ab antiquis tradita sunt quasi in unam coronam redigere et usui celeberrimo deputare*. The Latinity of the classical *antiqui*, however, had by the eleventh century become less and less apt to express the Christian truth. This is partly why the patristic sources are so important for Gerard.⁴⁵¹

Gerard is informed about the classics and secular learning primarily through the Isidorian representation of the seven liberal arts. His approach, however, is far from being Isidorian, because it seems quite contradictory in itself. Although the critical edge of his remarks is always there in the *Deliberatio*, this negative attitude is on the surface only. Nonetheless, it is strong enough to have influenced relevant scholarship for more than a century. Studies by Josef Anton Endres and others have classified Gerard of Csanád, along with Otloh of Saint Emmeram and Peter Damian, as one of the representatives of the so-called antidialectic school: an opponent of secular learning, pagan philosophy, the seven liberal arts and the classical tradition. After Max Manitius reinforced the notion of Gerard's antidialectic character in his influential history of medieval Latin literature, the concept became a commonplace among historians of medieval

⁴⁴⁹ Pseudo-Bede, "Commentarius in librum Boethii de Trinitate," *PL* 95, 394; Hrabanus Maurus, "De clericorum institutione," *PL* 107, 404; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," *CCSL* 32, 73. See McGuire (1953: 397–409).

⁴⁵⁰ Norden (1958: 682). See De Rijk (1963: 35–86).

⁴⁵¹ Cassiodorus, "De orthographia," *GL* 7, 145. See Hartmann (1974: 23); Kaster (1980: 216–41); Kaster (1988: 183); Brown (1996: 267–87).

literature and philosophy.⁴⁵² Many scholars favored the idea of Gerard of Csanád the antidialectic author so much that they started attributing to him the first formulation of the celebrated sentence: *Philosophia est ancilla theologiae*. Falsely: the concept is of course there, but the famous sentence itself never occurs in the *Deliberatio*. As a matter of fact, it does not even figure in any of the so-called antidialectic authors. Franciscus Iacobus Clemens found perhaps the most relevant passage in Peter Damian: *Haec plane, quae ex dialecticorum uel rhetorum prodeunt argumentis, non facile diuinae uirtutis sunt aptanda mysteriis, et quae ad hoc inuenta sunt, ut in sillogismorum instrumenta proficiant uel clausulas dictionum, absit, ut sacris se legibus pertinaciter inferant et diuinae uirtuti conclusionis suae necessitates opponant. Quae tamen artis humanae peritia, si quando tractandis sacris eloquiis adhibetur, non debet ius magisterii sibimet arroganter arripere, sed uelut ancilla dominae quodam famulatus obsequio subseruire, ne si praecedat, oberret, et dum exteriorum uerborum sequitur consequentias, intimae uirtutis lumen et rectum ueritatis tramitem perdat.*⁴⁵³

Highlighting the eremitic tradition as an important factor in the development of the so-called antidialectic approach, some scholars have already attempted to reconcile the pagan and the Christian components of eleventh-century Latin literature. This resulted in a welcome switch of emphasis in scholarship.⁴⁵⁴ In Hungary, J. Lajos Csóka argued that Gerard did combine the patristic tradition with pagan philosophy and the seven liberal arts, but it was his peculiar Latinity that resulted in the negligence of the *Deliberatio* in the Middle Ages.⁴⁵⁵ Drawing a parallel between Gerard of Csanád and Peter Damian, on the other hand, Jean Leclercq examined Gerard's vocabulary and concluded that the author was never a Benedictine, since the *Deliberatio* neither showed any resemblance to Saint Benedict's Rule nor indeed presented any monastic values whatsoever. In general, Leclercq argued, the role of the Benedictines in eleventh-century Latin literature should not be exaggerated, since there were hermits living without the Benedictine Rule in the West. In particular, Gerard may well have come from the region of Venice and Ravenna, where various forms of eremitic communities existed and hermits kept wandering from one community to another in the late tenth and the early eleventh century. His later career as a hermit and a bishop in Hungary

⁴⁵² See Endres (1906: 20–33); Grabmann (1909: 215–24); Endres (1910); Endres (1913a: 85–93); Endres (1913b: 349–59); Endres (1915: 50–113); Fenczik (1918: 59–70); Manitius (1923: 74–81); Kühár (1927: 305–19); Geyer (1928: 186–7); MacDonald (1933: 95–99); Curtius (1939: 171).

⁴⁵³ Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 354. See Clemens (1856: 15). See also Gabriel (1954: 25–33); Leff (1958: 96); Coppleston (1959: 146); Newald (1960: 201, 207); Gabriel (1962: 13–4); Lhotsky (1970: 336); Györfy (1977: 367–9); Bertényi (1998: 108).

⁴⁵⁴ See Viscardi (1938: 159–70); Ghellinck (1948: 70, 93–6, 104); Capitani (1965: 122–63); Resnick (1990: 115–25); Resnick (1996: 1–11). See also Stock (1990: 103–12); Jaeger (1992: 141–68); Hartmann (1997: 73–95).

⁴⁵⁵ Csóka (1967b: 9–27); Csóka (1980: 48–51). See also Szennay (1980: 808–12); Szovák (2001: 35–47).

shows no connection to the Benedictine Order at all.⁴⁵⁶ The common lifestyle of Gerard and Peter Damian could have resulted in their similar perception of secular learning, which many scholars labeled antidialectic. Although Peter Damian had a far better training, both authors had some knowledge of ancient philosophy and the Latin classics. Otherwise they could not have criticized something of which they never knew. Through his predominantly patristic training, Gerard must have as well been aware of the significance of the classical authors. This is even more obvious in the case of Peter Damian, whose statements and prose style were shaped to a considerable extent by ancient philosophy and the Latin classics that he possessed in his Avellana library.⁴⁵⁷ Karl F. Morrison phrased the solution to this apparent contradiction of sacred and secular learning plausibly: “Damian embodied the liberal arts in the very moment when he argued that monks should not learn them.”⁴⁵⁸

It is now time to shift the emphasis: parallel to the antagonism of dialecticians and antidialecticians, the eleventh-century contradiction between *ratio* and *auctoritas* is an oversimplification invented by modern scholarship, usually based on popular and unfortunately very deeply rooted misinterpretations. The criticism of secular learning in Gerard’s case implied some knowledge of the seven liberal arts. However close the connection between the seven liberal arts and classical scholarship in the Middle Ages, Gerard was obviously not a classical scholar and did not have the classical erudition of a Gerbert of Aurillac.⁴⁵⁹ It is precisely the fact that Gerard did not belong to the top literate clerics of the eleventh century that makes him important as a representative of the mediocre scholar of his day. His treatment of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* suggests that the combination of despising and exploiting classical education is neither hypocrisy nor dissimulation, but rather a literary convention in order to prove orthodoxy and gain a scholarly reputation.⁴⁶⁰

Given its prominent significance in shaping Gerard’s language and style, one segment of his approach to the seven liberal arts merits a separate and detailed discussion: the role of ancient rhetoric in his *Deliberatio*. The subject is complex since the transmission of ancient rhetoric in the Middle Ages is an important aspect of both classical and medieval Latin philology. The *Deliberatio* provides an insight into a peculiar stage of the complex process of this transmission in the eleventh century. In addition to the nature of the transmission of the Latin classics, the classical sources of ancient rhetoric,

⁴⁵⁶ Leclercq (1971: 13–30). See also Labande (1973: 135–82); Leonardi (1993: 295–321).

⁴⁵⁷ See Blum (1947: 58–64, 129–34, 204–5); Dressler (1954: 62–3, 175–212); Gonsette (1956); Leclercq (1960: 168–76); Cantin (1975); Cantin (1997); Resnick (1992); Holopainen (1996: 6–43). See also Mohrmann (1958: 276).

⁴⁵⁸ Morrison (1983: 37). See also Meersseman (1958: 1–13).

⁴⁵⁹ See Richer of Reims, “Historiae,” *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 193–4. See also Wagner (1983: 1–31); Gasc (1986: 111–21); Lindgren (2001: 107–25).

⁴⁶⁰ See Nemerényi (2001b: 215–23).

Cicero's *De inuentione* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* infiltrated medieval Latin literature through mediators from late antiquity (Servius, Donatus, Priscian, Macrobius and Martianus Capella) and the early Middle Ages (Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville and Bede the Venerable). Another classical work, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, also played an important role: it was commonly attributed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, due to its appreciation by patristic authors such as Saint Jerome (*Lege ad Herennium Tullii libros, lege Rhetoricos eius*). Due to some aspects of this mediation, certain features of ancient rhetoric did not go unnoticed in the *Deliberatio* either.⁴⁶¹

Besides providing an overview of the seven liberal arts, Gerard mentions Cicero and Quintilian and refers explicitly to the professional terms of ancient rhetoric, the branches of classical oratory: to the *genera causarum* (*demonstratiuum genus, deliberatiuum genus, iudiciale genus*) and elsewhere to the *genera dicendi* (*humile genus, medium genus, grandiloquum genus*). When he speaks about the *genera causarum*, however, he does so in order to emphasize the point that Christ did not need rhetorical training in the *genera causarum*, and the human *suasiones et dissuasiones* and that the philosophy of the Gospel makes the real orators: *non de mortalibus deliberatiuis, non de demonstratiuis, non de iudicialibus, que ad rethores pertinent, reddebatur instructus, quamlibet multo his maioribus peritissimus totus humanis suasionibus et distasionibus Spiritus sancti pistillo contunsis. Talis siquidem euangelii philosophia est, ut plebeios et rusticos concite faciat oratores, ad cuius culminis arcem nemo ex illis, qui bestiis simulantur, adire potest.*⁴⁶²

The threefold division of the *genera causarum* (demonstrative, deliberative and forensic) originates from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.2.2: *Tria genera sunt causarum, quae recipere debet orator: demonstratiuum, deliberatiuum, iudiciale* – and also 2.1.1), Cicero's *De inuentione* (1.5.7: *tribus in generibus rerum uersari rhetoris officium putauit, demonstratiuo, deliberatiuo, iudicali* – and also 1.9.12, 1.10.13, 2.4.12–3 and 2.51.155–6), Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (2.21.23: *Aristoteles tres faciendo partes orationis, iudicalem, deliberatiuam, demonstratiuam, paene et ipse oratori subiecit omnia* – and also 3.6.81, 3.8.53, 8.pr.6, 8.3.11) and Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (5.447: *Haec igitur sunt tria causarum genera, quae hypothese continentur, id est iudiciale, deliberatiuum et demonstratiuum*). In the *Deliberatio*, however, it probably comes from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where not only the *genera causarum* match Gerard's text but also the elaboration on the *deliberatiuum genus* being a *genus duplex* of *suasio et dissuasio* (*Etymologiae* 2.4.1–3: *Genera causarum tria sunt, deliberatiuum, demonstratiuum, iudiciale... Deliberatiuum genus uocatur eo, quod de unaquaque re in eo deliberatur. Huius genus duplex est, suasio et dissuasio*).

⁴⁶¹ Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," CCSL 79, 14. See Murphy (1974: 89–132); Bolgar (1982: 79–86); Reynolds (1983a: 98–112, 332–4); Murphy (1996: 629–38).

⁴⁶² CCCM 49, 82–3.

It should be pointed out here that the title of Gerard's work, although probably not by the author, is also *Deliberatio*. The antecedents of the relevant Isidorian passage include the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.2.2: *Deliberatiuum est in consultatione, quod habet in se suasionem et dissuasionem*), Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae* (24.85: *Itaque cum constet genus hoc causarum ex suasionem et dissuasionem, suasori proponitur simplex ratio: si et utile est et fieri potest, fiat; dissuasori duplex: una, si non utile est, ne fiat; altera, si fieri non potest, ne suscipiatur*) and, more importantly, Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* (2.2.3: *Genera causarum rethoricae sunt tria principalia: demonstratiuum (in laude, in uituperatione) – deliberatiuum (in suasionem et dissuasionem) – iudiciale (in accusationem et defensione, in praemii acceptionem et negationem)... Deliberatiuum genus est in quo est suasio et dissuasio*). The same system later occurs in Carolingian authors such as Alcuin (*Ars quidem rhetoricae in tribus uersatur generibus, id est, demonstratiuo, deliberatiuo, iudiciali... Deliberatiuum est in suasionem et dissuasionem*).⁴⁶³

Elsewhere, Gerard refers to other professional terms of ancient rhetoric: the *genera dicendi*. Although he mentions them explicitly again, he quickly goes on to argue that there is no need to speak much about them because his book is not being written to the ignorant: *Etenim perfectorum nonnulli trimodum dicendi genus uolunt in omnibus habere dictis, utique humile, medium et grandiloquum, denique eminentia dum sunt dicenda, granditer proferenda, parua autem subtiliter, et mediocria temperate. Ac per hoc nemo debet excedere modum suum. Hic autem non multum necesse habetur loqui de talibus: nec enim huic scribitur liber, qui talia ignoret, quamlibet non tantum ignorantibus, quam etiam optime scientibus dicta nos oporteat commendare diuina*.⁴⁶⁴

The ultimate source of the threefold division of the *genera dicendi* (humble, mediocre and grandiose) is also Ciceronian. The rhetorical rules that Gerard mentions echo Cicero's *Orator* (29.100: *is est enim eloquens, qui et humilia subtiliter et alta grauiter et mediocria temperate potest dicere*) and the term *dicendi genus* figures in his *Orator* (28.98), *De oratore* (2.23.98, 2.83.338, 3.8.30 and 3.55.211), *De optimo genere oratorum* (5.13) and *Brutus* (7.29, 29.112, 53.198, 54.199, 70.247 and 78.271), as well as Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (6.2.19, 8.3.14 and 8.3.56), Seneca's *Controuersiae* (2.2.8) and Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* (19.1, 22.2 and 31.5). This threefold division appears in Cassiodorus as well (*Neque enim tria genera dicendi in cassum prudens definiuit antiquitas: humile, quod communione ipsa serpere uideatur: medium quod nec magnitudine tumescit nec paruitate tenuatur, sed inter utrumque positum, propria uenustate ditatum suis finibus continetur: tertium genus, quod ad summum apicem disputationis exquisitis sensibus eleuatur*).⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Alcuin, "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus," PL 101, 922. See Wilbur Samuel Howell, ed., *The Rhetoric of Alcuin & Charlemagne* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941).

⁴⁶⁴ CCCM 49, 34–5.

⁴⁶⁵ Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 6.

The immediate source of this passage of the *Deliberatio*, however, is probably again Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where the *trimodum genus dicendi* is followed by the rules that Gerard mentions (*Etymologiae* 2.17.1: *Hoc est enim illud trimodum genus dicendi: humile, medium, grandiloquum. Cum enim magna dicimus, granditer proferenda sunt; cum parua dicimus, subtiliter; cum mediocria, temperate*). The *Deliberatio* is apparently addressed to a rhetorically trained audience, and it can be documented that Gerard has at least one reader who gets his point regarding the *genera dicendi*: Johannes Grünwalder, the fifteenth-century bishop of Freising, who writes a marginal note to this passage on fol. 31r of the Munich manuscript: *In omnibus tres modi dicendorum obseruandi sunt*. (A different tradition of the *genera dicendi* figures in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.1.7: "*Quattuor sunt*" inquit Eusebius "*genera dicendi: copiosum, in quo Cicero dominatur, breue, in quo Salustius regnat, siccum, quod Frontoni adscribitur, pingue et floridum, in quo Plinius Secundus quondam et nunc nullo ueterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur*", and *Saturnalia* 5.1.13: *Vis autem uidere, quem ad modum haec quattuor genera dicendi Vergilius ipse permisceat et faciat unum quoddam ex omni diuersitate pulcherrimum temperamentum?*) The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.3 provides further basic terms of ancient rhetoric (*inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), but Gerard does not mention them, possibly because some of them are components of the orator's and not the writer's art. In addition, the same terms occur in Cicero (*De oratore* 2.19.79, and *De inuentione* 1.7.9), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 1.pr.22, 3.3.1, 3.3.7, 3.3.8, 3.3.15 and 6.4.1), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.442: *Iam uero partes officii mei quinque esse non dubium est; nam est inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.2.2: *Partes igitur rethoricae sunt u: inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 2.3.1: *Orator est igitur uir bonus, dicendi peritus. Vir bonus consistit natura, moribus, artibus. Dicendi peritus consistit artificiosa eloquentia, quae constat partibus quinque: inuentione, dispositione, elocutione, memoria, pronuntiatione, et fine officii, quod est aliquid persuadere*) and Alcuin (*Artis rhetoricae partes quinque sunt: inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*).⁴⁶⁶

Gerard does, however, mention some of the classical parts of *dispositio* (*exordium, narratio, diuisio, confirmatio, refutatio* or *confutatio, peroratio* or *conclusio*). The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.3.4 attributes them to *inuentio*: *Inuentio in sex partes orationis consumitur: in exordium, narrationem, diuisionem, confirmationem, confutationem, conclusionem*. Gerard exploits the terms *exordium* and *narratio*, as well as *prooemium, epilogus* and *eulogium*. His use of *exordium* corresponds to the relevant passage of Isidore's *Etymologiae* again (2.7.1: *Partes orationis in Rhetorica arte quattuor sunt: exordium, narratio, argumentatio, conclusio*). Some of these terms also occur in

⁴⁶⁶ Alcuin, "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus," *PL* 101, 921.

Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 4.1.28: *ut eo distare prooemium ab epilogo credam quod in hoc praeterita, in illo futura dicantur*, and *Institutio oratoria* 4.1.73: *Contraque est interim prooemii uis etiam non exordio; nam iudices et in narratione nonnumquam et in argumentis ut attendant et ut faueant rogamus*), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.544: *nam est exordium, narratio, propositio, argumentatio, peroratio*) and Alcuin (*Sex enim sunt partes, per quas ab oratore ordinanda est oratio. Causae exordium, narratio, confirmatio, partitio, reprehensio, conclusio*).⁴⁶⁷

In the introduction to Book Six, for instance, Gerard asserts that his Biblical material has no *prooemium* and no *narratio* but can still be called *prooemium* and *epilogus* and *confirmatio* at the same time: *Contemplanda iterum nos exercitatos expectant non tantum illis, quibus oratio perficitur, quantum hoc, quo incompraehensibile comprahenditur quodque formis cingitur et a formis non tenetur; cui nec proimium praedicatur, nec narratio inscribitur, quanquam narretur dicique possit non solum proimium, quin etiam epilogus, quin etiam confirmatio, quin etiam ablatio optima, quemadmodum positio; in quo nil medii repperitur, per medium enim non mouetur, ubique diffusum, in toto enim et a toto ipsumque totum; medium uero, a quo prima et media et ultima, longe a philosophorum mediis, quanquam sua uirtute hec*. Parts of Gerard's passage resemble the vocabulary of Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.544: *et in docendo tam narrationem quam confirmationem partis ascribunt, in mouendo autem prooemium et epilogum nexuerunt*) and the language of John Scottus Eriugena (*in toto amato, et a toto comprehendatur; super omnem ablationem et positionem*).⁴⁶⁸ The terms *epilogus*, *eulogium* and *narratio* figure several times elsewhere in the work too. Most of these terms are obviously Ciceronian (for instance Cicero, *De oratore* 1.19.86: *de prooemiis et de epilogis* – and also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.1.51: *in prooemio atque in epilogo*) but they probably reached Gerard via Isidorian mediation.⁴⁶⁹

It is significant that the very ending of Book Eight, the last book of the work, also features the term *epilogus*: *ideo octaua istiusmodi operis scedula consuetum epilogum flagitat: Sit nomen Domini benedictum, ex hoc nunc, et usque in saeculum. Amen*. The usual concluding formula of all the eight books of the work is this rhymed metrical prayer, based on Psalms (LXX) 112.2 (*sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum*) and Daniel 2.20 (*sit nomen Domini benedictum a saeculo et usque in saeculum*), which is also part of the liturgy of the mass and the monastic office in a responsorial form (*Versus: Sit nomen Domini benedictum. Responsio: Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum*). The philologist János Horváth observed that this prayer serves as a stylistic ornament, but one might also add that it represents a return to the style of the *grandiloquum genus* at the closing of each book of the work. Psalms 112.2, on the

⁴⁶⁷ CCCM 49, 43; Alcuin, "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus," PL 101, 929.

⁴⁶⁸ CCCM 49, 79; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," PL 122, 515; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia," PL 122, 1173.

⁴⁶⁹ CCCM 49, 38, 92, 145.

other hand, is often quoted in a liturgical context, for instance by Cassiodorus.⁴⁷⁰

The special way in which Gerard interprets ancient rhetoric can also be illustrated with his use of the term *eloquium*, which occurs in the work an extraordinarily great number of times, in various cases in both the singular and the plural, always as a synonym for the Bible. His expressions *in eloquiis ignitis Dei* and *ignita Dei eloquia* primarily rely on Psalms (LXX) 118.140: *ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer et seruius tuus dilexit illud*. The same Biblical phrase influenced the vocabulary of patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Arnobius, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Bede the Venerable and John Scottus Eriugena.⁴⁷¹ Gerard's other expressions (*eloquia ex eloquiis* and *in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus*) are partly influenced by Psalms (LXX) 11.7 (*eloquia Domini eloquia casta*), which frequently figures in the vocabulary of patristic and medieval authors.⁴⁷² The expression *eloquiorum suauissime manaciones* has its parallels in Saint Augustine (*Nam eloquium tuum me delectat, quoniam grauius suaue est uel suauiter graue*), Cassiodorus (*Roma tradit eloquium, quo suauius nil sit auditum; diuini eloqui manare fecit fontes irriguos*), Alcuin (*sapientiae melle manans, et suauissimae charitatis luce redundans*) and Sedulius Scottus (*ueteris instrumenti scriptura in Romanum manauit eloquium*). It is significant that *eloquium* can denote both Roman rhetoric and the Bible in some of these patristic and Carolingian instances.⁴⁷³ Parts of the multiple application of the term in one clause (*triplicis diuine optima societatis eloquia iuxta eloquia per eloquiorum sagacem et intimam manationem*) reflect the vocabulary of Saint Augustine (*diuinae societati*) and Bede the Venerable (*propheticis intimaret eloquiis*).⁴⁷⁴ The phrase *eloquia dulcia* has antecedents in both classical and early medieval Latin in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.12.1: *eloquio tam dulci*), Bede the Venerable (*oblectaberis diuini eloqui dulcedine*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*quorum eloquium dulce est*).⁴⁷⁵ A specifically Biblical use of the term, *psalmicis eloquiis*, may have been influenced by John Scottus Eriugena's Latin transla-

⁴⁷⁰ CCCM 49, 179; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1025. See Horváth (1954: 115). See also Caplan (1933: 73–96); McKeon (1942: 1–32); Quadlbauer (1962: 15–7, 57–63); Murphy (1967: 334–41); Dickey (1968: 1–41); Ward (1978: 25–67); Prill (1987: 129–47).

⁴⁷¹ CCCM 49, 6, 93; Saint Ambrose, "De Ioseph," CSEL 32.2, 85; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 166; Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 40, 1761; Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 200; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138A, 466; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1120; Gregory the Great, "Expositio in Canticum canticorum," CCSL 144, 8; Bede the Venerable, "In Prouerbia Salomonis libri III," CCSL 119B, 142; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: Epistolae," PL 122, 1190.

⁴⁷² CCCM 49, 8, 11.

⁴⁷³ CCCM 49, 12; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 57, 505; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 392; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1031; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 201; Sedulius Scottus, "Explanaciones in praefationes sancti Hieronymi ad euangelia," PL 103, 337.

⁴⁷⁴ CCCM 49, 26; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 34.2, 429; Bede the Venerable, "De templo libri II," CCSL 119A, 158.

⁴⁷⁵ CCCM 49, 28; Bede the Venerable, "Explanatio Apocalypseos," CCSL 121A, 367; Hrabanus Maurus, "Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam," PL 112, 977.

tion of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *potentes psalmicorum eloquiorum cantus*.⁴⁷⁶ Another set of expressions (*a diuino Spiritu sancto inspirato eloquio, diuinitus inspirata eloquia*) also resemble John Scottus Eriugena (*praeter diuinitus nobis ex sacris eloquiis expressa*).⁴⁷⁷ The same expression of Eriugena's could also have influenced the following phrase of Gerard's: *et eloquia parabolice sunt prophetarum expressa*. The term *eloquia prophetarum*, on the other hand, is an established way of referring to the prophets in patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Bede the Venerable, Alcuin, and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁷⁸ The term *celeste eloquium* is a common one in patristic and Carolingian Latin and appears in various forms, among others, in Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Leo the Great, Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁷⁹ One must note, finally, that the classical noun *eloquium* also denotes the Bible in the chronicle literature of medieval Hungary: *attestante sacro eloquio Prouerbiorum*.⁴⁸⁰

Apart from *eloquium*, Gerard also applies another technical term of classical rhetoric (*narratio*) to refer to the Bible: *diuinis narrationibus*. This application parallels the vocabulary of Saint Augustine (*diuini eloquii narrationem*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*in diuinae scripturae narrationibus*).⁴⁸¹ Furthermore, the term *propheticus sermo* occurs several times in the *Deliberatio*. As a reference to the Bible, this term is frequently used in patristic and Carolingian authors, such as Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Alcuin, and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁸²

Gerard's use of the technical terms of classical rhetoric (*eloquium*, *narratio*, and

⁴⁷⁶ CCCM 49, 44; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," PL 122, 1106.

⁴⁷⁷ CCCM 49, 135, 148; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De diuinis nominibus," PL 122, 1113. See Ziolkowski (1990: 15–38).

⁴⁷⁸ CCCM 49, 164; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 435; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 48, 553; Bede the Venerable, "In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII," CCSL 119, 207; Alcuin, "Commentaria in sancti Joannis euangelium," PL 100, 911; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria ad cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur," PL 112, 1160.

⁴⁷⁹ CCCM 49, 172; Saint Ambrose, "De interpellatione Iob et David," CSEL 32.2, 280; Saint Augustine, "De sancta uirginitate," CSEL 41, 255; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138A, 328; Alcuin, "Compendium in Canticum canticorum," PL 100, 645; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio super Ieremiam prophetam," PL 111, 800.

⁴⁸⁰ "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.," SRH 1, 242.

⁴⁸¹ CCCM 49, 79; Saint Augustine, "De Genesi ad litteram," CSEL 28.1, 232; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," PL 122, 818.

⁴⁸² CCCM 49, 14, 15, 26, 77, 95, 105, 118, 129; Saint Ambrose, "Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam," CCSL 14, 266; Saint Jerome, "Commentarium in Hiezechielem libri XIV," CCSL 75, 11; Saint Augustine, "Sermones de uetere testamento," CCSL 41, 510; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138, 166; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1220; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143, 89; Alcuin, "Aduersus Elipandum libri," PL 101, 273; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentarium in Ezechielem libri viginti," PL 110, 507.

sermo) to refer to the Bible fits into the patristic and Carolingian tradition. It shows that Biblical eloquence is more important than rhetorical eloquence in the *Deliberatio*, and this is why Gerard says that he has not imitated the *oratorum murmures et rethorum debachationes*. They prefer the charm of eloquence to the virtue of mysteries, unlike the prophets and apostles; the latter were rustics and fishermen, but the philosophy of the Gospel made them eloquent orators: *Non quippe secuti sumus oratorum murmures et rethorum debachationes, qui tantum uenustatem eloquiorum et non uirtutem misteriorum inmitantur*. Besides its classical parallel in the Ciceronian vocabulary (*De oratore* 3.16.60: *uenustate et subtilitate, tum uero eloquentia*), the passage resembles the language of Saint Jerome (*uenustas eloquii Tulliani*), Cassianus (*fidem potius mei sermonis quam uenustatem eloquii requirentes*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*uirtutem mysterii; eloquii uenustate*).⁴⁸³ In a different context, Gerard uses the same vocabulary when he condemns those *qui cottidie scurrarum debachationibus insistent*. The classical etymology of the noun *scurra* (jester, parasite) explains the word from *sequor*, following the traditional etymology by Festus (*De uerborum significatu* s.v. *Scurrae: aut a sequendo, cui magis adsentitur; quod et tenuioris fortunae homines, qui honoris gratia prosequerentur quempiam, non antecedere, sed sequi sint soliti*). Isidore of Seville adapts the explanation by Festus in *Etymologiae* 10.255.1: *Scurra, qui sectari quempiam solet cibi gratia. A sequendo igitur inde scurras appellatos*. However, Isidore also provides another etymology of a slightly different variant, *iscurra*, a late Latin form deriving from *esca*, in *Etymologiae* 10.152.1: *Iscurra uocatur quia causa escae quempiam consecratur*. In the celebrated preface to his *Gesta Hungarorum*, Anonymus later provides a passage similar to that of Gerard: *Et si tam nobilissima gens Hungariae primordia sue generationis et fortia queque facta sua ex falsis fabulis rusticorum uel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum quasi sompniando audiret, ualde indecorum et satis indecens esset*.⁴⁸⁴

The general theme of criticizing rhetoricians in the *Deliberatio* returns when Gerard addresses the secular masters who keep boasting of their training in the liberal arts. They should rather engage in debates with the illiterate prophets and the fishermen apostles: *Veniat uero ad prophetas, qui non litterati sed dominici rustici fuerunt. Disputet cum Petro et suis, qui non oratores sed piscatores extiterunt*.⁴⁸⁵ It is in this manner that Cicero, the uncontested master of Latin eloquence, becomes the symbol of rhetoric in both a negative and a positive sense, as an object of contempt and admiration. This ambivalence is an outcome of the underlying conflict between Cicero's reputation and

⁴⁸³ CCCM 49, 132; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 120; Cassianus, "De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis," CSEL 17, 6; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," PL 107, 749; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri viginti," PL 110, 675.

⁴⁸⁴ CCCM 49, 85; Anonymus, "Gesta Hungarorum," SRH 1, 33–4. See Pais (1953: 95–110); Falvy (1961: 29–64); Maltby (1999: 443).

⁴⁸⁵ CCCM 49, 152.

Gerard's purpose. In Book One, he warns that his readers would be able to follow his complicated argument only if they do not stick to the rules of Ciceronian rhetoric: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachiis Ciceronis astringaris*.⁴⁸⁶ Later on in the work, however, Cicero becomes the model of an excellent exegete, to illustrate how difficult it is to interpret the Bible. Even if Cicero were a Christian, his effort would hardly succeed: *Nam si Tullius redderetur ex nostris uixque sufficeret conatus, uir diffusissimus et utraque lingua doctissimus*. The classical and patristic antecedents of the popular concept of being fluent in both Greek and Latin include Martial (*Epigrammata* 10.76.6: *lingua doctus utraque*), Saint Jerome (*Si quis eloquentiam quaerit, uel declamationibus delectatur, habet in utraque lingua Demosthenem et Tullium, Polemonem et Quintilianum. Ecclesia Christi non de Academia, et Lyceo, sed de uili plebicula congregata est*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 1.23.2: *in utraque lingua ualde doctissimus*).⁴⁸⁷

While distinguishing between celebrating human beings and appreciating their efforts, Gerard makes his case by pointing to the giants of ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric: Gorgias, Aristotle and Hermagoras, as well as Cicero and Quintilian: *Laudare igitur antiquorum ingenia et iure debemus, sed ad ueram laudem illius, qui sine cessatione laudandus est, et in cuius benedictione nullus est modus ponendus... Gorgia, Aristotiles, Ermachora Greci rethorice artis inuentores benedicendi? Tullius et Quintilianus acutissimi translatore eiusdem artis similiter? Nonne illorum studia potius censenda?* One of his terms echoes Saint Jerome's description: *acutissimus rhetorum*.⁴⁸⁸

Cicero is also a symbol of abundant verbosity, whose Latin translation of the Greek rhetoric is easier to admire than to understand: *etiam si in controuersiis et insectionibus canine facundie praeualeat Ciceronem, qui totam argumentose rethoricam e Greco in Latinum transtulit, ut magis amirari quam compraeendi possit a lectoribus*. Gerard's expression *canine facundie* is clearly classical: it appears in Sallust's *Historiae* (4.54: *Canina, ut ait Appius, facundia exercebatur*). Sallust's passage is quoted by patristic authors such as Lactantius (*caninam illam facundiam, sicut Sallustius ab Appio dictum refert*), Saint Jerome (*canina, ut ait Appius, facundia*), Saint Augustine (*iuxta Appium canina exercebatur facundia*) and Isidore of Seville (*Antiqui forensem eloquentiam caninam facundiam nuncupabant, eo quod causidici in certaminibus causarum, omissis quae agunt, ueluti canes alterutrum sese lacerant iurgiaque causarum ad iniurias suas commutant*). The passage otherwise resembles similar sentences in Cassiodorus (*cum admiratione legendum est, quia nullus comprehendere, nullus sufficit digne laudare*) and Gregory the Great (*nisi ualde ammirari, quod ab eis non poterat conprehendi*). Even Gerard's contempt and admiration, however, are bound to his sources, because

⁴⁸⁶ CCCM 49, 5.

⁴⁸⁷ CCCM 49, 38; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas," PL 26, 400. See also Coens (1958: 118–50).

⁴⁸⁸ CCCM 49, 40; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," CCSL 76A, 655.

the last two passages, for instance, derive from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (2.2.1: *Haec autem disciplina a Graecis inuenta est, a Gorgia, Aristotele, Hermagora, et translata in Latinum a Tullio uidelicet et Quintiliano, sed ita copiose, ita uarie, ut eam lectori admirari in promptu sit, comprehendere impossibile*). In addition to influencing Gerard's *Deliberatio*, this Isidorian passage played an important role in the transmission of classical rhetoric in the Middle Ages.⁴⁸⁹

What Gerard elaborates on his own is the superiority of Christian eloquence over pagan rhetoric. For him, Saint Paul is more eloquent than any other human orator, including Cicero. Gerard at this point carefully inserts the adjective *humanis* in order to reserve the first place for Christ: *Non dubites Cephon Aristotile profundiore, non Paulum cunctis humanis oratoribus eloquentiore, non Iohannem omni celo altiore, non Iacobum tuo Plotio expeditiore*. Besides the frequent use of the comparative adjective forms, this passage also reflects Saint Jerome's rhetorical comparison of ancient pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine: *Quid Aristoteli et Paulo? Quod Platoni et Petro?*⁴⁹⁰

Gerard might have had access to excerpts from and commentaries on the Latin classics, but his most important source was apparently the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville with regard to his treatment of ancient rhetoric as well. However, he cannot be considered an Isidorian, let alone a Ciceronian: he is informed about some basic terms of ancient rhetoric, but he does not put them into practice to the fullest extent while composing his *Deliberatio*. His approach to classical rhetoric in particular is apparently just as ambivalent as his approach to the seven liberal arts in general. Although his main concern is the Bible, especially the *hymnus trium puerorum* in the Book of Daniel, he rarely misses an opportunity to explicitly relate his prose to the classical standards of Ciceronian rhetoric. Since his training is predominantly patristic, Gerard's approach can justly be compared to that of Saint Augustine, who was at first struck by the simple Latinity of the Bible: *uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem. Tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius*. Gerard did not have Augustine's rhetorical erudition, but he also put the Latinity of the Bible into perspective: he related it not only to classical rhetoric, but also to his own peculiar Latinity.⁴⁹¹

Although there is only one manuscript of the work surviving and therefore it is difficult to distinguish between the author's Latin and the scribe's occasional errors in cases of difficult readings, Gerard's peculiar Latinity has long been subject to lexical

⁴⁸⁹ CCCM 49, 83; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 551; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 447; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 57, 303; Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," CCSL 111, 312; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalorum," CCSL 97, 637; Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," CCSL 144, 402. See Heller (1943: 243); Mutherich (1971: 204–5).

⁴⁹⁰ CCCM 49, 12; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 18.

⁴⁹¹ Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," CCSL 27, 31. See Prestel (1992: 240–74); Prestel (1995: 54–64); Satterthwaite (1997: 671–94); Henriët (2000: 187–98); Roberts (2002: 41).

and stylistic analyses. Gabriel Silagi provided a detailed analysis of the linguistic features of the *Deliberatio*. Reviewing Gerard's original vocabulary, irregular grammar and orthography, as well as pinpointing the minimal role of prose rhythm even in the introductions to the books, Silagi's major highlights include the frequency of the following features in the work: words with the *super-* prefix; the *-ius* ending (for instance *solius*), also in adverbs of positive degree; *in-* derivatives; a preoccupation with long words, providing the impression of linguistic competence; vernacular influence on the vocabulary; inconsistent use of prepositions. One of the most striking features of Gerard's Latinity is the abundant use of superlatives that often contradict both grammar and logic. For instance, various forms of *immortalissimus*,⁴⁹² *principalissimus*⁴⁹³ and *superoptimus* occur in the work several times.⁴⁹⁴ As Silagi notes, Gerard's use of these types of the superlative could show the primary influence of John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. Consider the following examples: *principalissima*; *superoptimam*; *Trinitas superessentialis, et superdeus, et superoptime Christianorum inspector theosophiae, dirige nos in mysticorum eloquiorum superincognitum et superluculentem et sublimissimum uerticem*. These features of Eriugena's Latin also affected the composition of the letters of Fulbert of Chartres (*Denique ut participando superessentialiam deitatis deus fias*).⁴⁹⁵

A brief survey of Gerard's preface to the entire work in Book One, the shortest one of the eight books of the *Deliberatio*, illustrates that his personal style only partly conforms to the clarity of Ciceronian rhetorical principles. The opening dedicatory sentences feature an elevated prose style, appropriate to Gerard's choice of subject, with numerous lexical peculiarities: *Erigendum in optimis ex consuetudine contemplationibus et admodum duris incitationibus circa uirium robor, licet nodosum ad quod conandum, per quod incedendum, amplectendum, minime uero, quantum pectoratim reor, quemadmodum potentes in theoricis aiunt, nec uero declinandum, quamlibet circulosum. Sudor enim in hoc omni sopore suauior aestimandus, praesertim cum diuinus processus cuncta confidat ad optimum respicientia perficere. Fateor uero me quemquam in hoc, quod examinandum postulasti, minime admisisse. Inde difficillimum sumas, quod ex continuo usu leuiter sonat, et pene ab omnibus intactum dimissum, quia assiduum, unde totum laboriosissimum. Deus autem meus... adiuet sic me tue postulationi satisfacere, quo inimicorum laqueos possim euadere et tibi plenissime ad libitum obuiare*. (The end of this passage has a parallel in the chronicle of Thietmar of

⁴⁹² CCCM 49, 30, 131, 158, 171.

⁴⁹³ CCCM 49, 79, 153, 159, 168, 171.

⁴⁹⁴ CCCM 49, 12, 70, 101.

⁴⁹⁵ John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1074; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De diuinis nominibus," *PL* 122, 1126; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia," *PL* 122, 1171–2; Behrends (see n. 13, 2). See Silagi (1967: 63–84); Poirel (2001: 157–8).

Merseburg: *laqueos inimicorum mereatur inuisibilia euadere*.)⁴⁹⁶

Silagi notes in his critical edition that the incipit *Erigendum* has a twelfth-century parallel in the homily for the feast of the apostle Saint Bartholomew by Gottfried, abbot of Admont, whose opening sentence starts with the same word: *Erigenda nobis est hominis interioris intentio, et considerandum quid in se moralis suauitatis euangelica haec contineat lectio*.⁴⁹⁷ Gerard's use of the noun *incitationibus* has its antecedents in Cicero (*De oratore* 1.35.161: *Tantus enim cursus uerborum fuit et sic euolauit oratio, ut eius uim et incitationem aspexerim*, and *Partitiones oratoriae* 3.9: *motus autem animi incitatio*), Gregory the Great (*asperis incitationibus*) and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁹⁸ The phrase *circa uirium robor*, which also appears elsewhere in the work, is classical (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 29.1.2: *florentes aetate et uirium robore*, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 10.177: *uirium roboris*, and Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 26.5: *ipsarum uirium robore*) and later figures in Saint Cyprian (*uirium robore*) and Richer of Reims (*uirium robore*).⁴⁹⁹ The expression *omni sopore suauior* resembles a line in Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.453: *Denique cum suaui deuinxit membra sopore*). One of Gerard's surprising word choices, or rather inventions, is the adverb *pectoratim*, which apparently stands unparalleled, at least in the Latinity of medieval Hungary. This word choice suggests that the author intends to be different from his predecessors not only in terms of his choice of subject but also in his language.⁵⁰⁰ The expression *potentes in theoricis* is also unusual, although various forms of the Greek noun *theoria* frequently figure in patristic and especially Carolingian Latin in the sense of theology, theory and contemplation (for instance in John Scottus Eriugena: *in theoria*).⁵⁰¹ In the sense of contemplation, the word *theoricis* corresponds to *ex consuetudine contemplationibus* at the beginning of the sentence, which in turn recalls Gregory the Great almost verbatim (*ex consuetudine contemplatio*).⁵⁰² The term *diuinus processus* is also peculiar. It appears earlier in John Scottus Eriugena (*per diuinam processionem, diuine processionis*). The scale of meaning of *processus* in medieval Latinity ranges from proceedings to method, trial and judgment, and even divine help. Nonetheless, the *diuinus processus* in the *Deliberatio* could also refer to the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰³ Compared to these expressions, the

⁴⁹⁶ CCCM 49, 1; Thietmar of Merseburg, "Chronicon," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 9, 94.

⁴⁹⁷ Gottfried of Admont, "Homiliae in festa totius anni," *PL* 174, 990. See Vattasso (1906: 362).

⁴⁹⁸ Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," *CCSL* 143B, 1684; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 866.

⁴⁹⁹ CCCM 49, 73; Saint Cyprian, "Ad Demetrianum," *CCSL* 3A, 37; Richer of Reims, "Historiae," *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 169.

⁵⁰⁰ Bartal (1901: 479).

⁵⁰¹ John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," *PL* 122, 502. See Du Cange (1846: 578); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 2192); Finály (1884: 1982); Bartal (1901: 664); Souter (1949: 419); Blaise (1975: 913); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 400); Niermeyer (1993: 1020).

⁵⁰² Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," *CCSL* 144, 100.

⁵⁰³ John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1052; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," *CCCM* 31, 120. See Du Cange

use of the more common verb *obuiare* seems rather conservative: the verb's actual meaning is defined here by the context and especially the expression *ad libitum*, although *obuiare* usually figures in the meaning of resistance in medieval Latin.⁵⁰⁴

Gerard's stylistic devices in the preface include hyperbaton (inversion of normal grammatical word order in a sentence: *in optimis ex consuetudine contemplationibus, circa uirium robor, cuncta confidat ad optimum respicientia*) and antithesis (juxtaposition of contrasting words: *difficillimum... ex continuo usu leuiter sonat... assiduum... laboriosissimum*), where the superlatives elevate the tension between the two theses. The phrase *ex continuo usu leuiter sonat* resembles Gregory the Great (*Continuo usu*) as well as the poetry of Catullus (*Carmina* 64.273: *procedunt, leuiterque sonant plan-gore cachinni*) and Theodulf of Orléans (*Illa sonat leuiter*), the commentary on Donatus by Sedulius Scottus (*tam leuiter sonat*) and the letter collection of Fulbert of Chartres (*ne id bonum quod dominus suus leuiter facere poterat faciat ei difficile*).⁵⁰⁵

Given the length of Gerard's passage quoted here, the frequency of the occurrences of superlative adjectives and adverbs is extremely high (in the order of their occurrence): *optimis, minime, optimum, minime, difficillimum, laboriosissimum, plenissime*. This frequency results in homoiopoton (repetition of similar morphological endings at the closing of commata and cola, that is, phrases and clauses), which in turn results in homoioteleuton (similarity of endings). It is noteworthy that the following twenty words figure with an *-um* ending in Gerard's opening sentences: *erigendum, admodum, uirium, nodosum, conandum, incedendum, amplexendum, quantum, quemadmodum, declinandum, circulosum, optimum, examinandum, difficillimum, intactum, dimissum, assiduum, totum, laboriosissimum, libitum*. Consequently, every fifth word ends with *-um* in the opening sentences, partly because of the abundant use of the superlative neuter adjectives. These elements give the beginning of the work a stylistic significance.

After the stylistically elevated introductory dedication, however, a rhetorical shift follows. In classical terms, Gerard switches from the level of the *grandiloquum genus* to the *humile genus*, providing the following clauses, which are less elaborated than the ones in the preface: *In hoc primo uersiculo... In his autem et his, siue his... Deus uero boni conditor superadmittendus, non mali, qui creauit ualde bona... Himnus autem sacer:... Ergo hic laus, alibi superlaudatio*.⁵⁰⁶ The words with a *super-* prefix serve as tools of climax in these clauses. Various forms of the verb *superadmitto* appear nu-

(1845: 462); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1799); Finály (1884: 1581); Bartal (1901: 529); Sleumer (1926: 635); Souter (1949: 324); Blaise (1975: 736); Glare (1982: 1468); Niermeyer (1993: 855).

⁵⁰⁴ Finály (1884: 1350); Bartal (1901: 449); Sleumer (1926: 560); Souter (1949: 273); Glare (1982: 1230); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 261); Niermeyer (1993: 374).

⁵⁰⁵ Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," *CCSL* 144, 453; Theodulf of Orléans, "Carmina," *PL* 105, 351; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40B, 9–10; Behrends (see n. 13, 92).

⁵⁰⁶ *CCCM* 49, 2.

merous times in the work.⁵⁰⁷ The noun *superlaudatio* shows the influence of the Book of Daniel 3.53–4, which features similar constructions of the prefix *super-* and the verb *laudo*: *Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriae tuae et superlaudabilis et supergloriosus in saecula. Benedictus es in throno regni tui et superlaudabilis et superexaltatus in saecula*. The same Biblical passage influenced Gerard's vocabulary several times (*superlaudatio*, *superlaude*, *superlaudant* and *superlaudare*). Furthermore, the same construction occurs in John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*superlaudabilem et laudabilissimam*). Nevertheless, these constructions rarely occur elsewhere in medieval Latin authors.⁵⁰⁸ Gerard's use of the noun *himnus*, on the other hand, fits the common vocabulary of medieval Latin perfectly: the word often serves as a shorthand reference to the song of the three boys in the Book of Daniel in the Middle Ages.⁵⁰⁹

The swift changes between levels of style can be observed in Gerard's differing ways of referring to the same Biblical passage (Daniel 3.57): *in hoc primo uersiculo* and not much later *himnus sacer*. (A similar expression appears in John Scottus Eriugena's Latin: *ad sacras hymnologias*.)⁵¹⁰ Gerard quotes three admonitions from Saint Paul's letter to the Ephesians (4.32, 5.2 and 5.3–5) and then refers to them in the following way: *in his autem et his, siue his*. Elsewhere, he says *hic laus, alibi superlaudatio*. These sketchy references are far from the style of the dedicatory sentences or the term *himnus sacer*.⁵¹¹ This characteristic ambivalence is apparent from this passage: *Hoc quidem Philipensibus in uinculis constitutus... in secunda Corinthorum inluminatio in uoce prorumpit dicens:... Hoc autem de laude. Quod amodo de superlaude, ut uera comprobetur ratio ex auctoritate dixisse:... Haec itaque, si fas uidetur, superlaudatio admittenda. Hoc autem quare? Nimirum dictum supra parum reliquimus, quia... Hoc itaque inuenies in Anania, Azaria et Misahale, quorum diuinissimum prae manibus melodema, si te delectat, habetur... et cetera talia*.⁵¹² The expression *in uinculis constitutus* appears in Saint Jerome (*Iohannes mittebat discipulos suos in uinculis constitutos*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*euangelii in uinculis constituti*).⁵¹³ The expression *in uoce prorumpit* appears in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 6.17: *prorumpit in uocem subitam*) and Saint Augustine (*uoce prorumpit*).⁵¹⁴ The use of the noun *inluminatio* is

⁵⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 2, 12, 31, 32, 45, 55, 59, 65, 88, 146, 169. See Bartal (1901: 642).

⁵⁰⁸ CCCM 49, 2, 3, 5; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1053. See Bartal (1901: 644); Souter (1949: 404).

⁵⁰⁹ Du Cange (1844: 738); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1144); Sleumer (1926: 394); Blaise (1975: 447); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 177); Niermeyer (1993: 489); *LLMAH* 4, 305.

⁵¹⁰ CCCM 49, 2; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De diuinis nominibus," *PL* 122, 1114.

⁵¹¹ CCCM 49, 2.

⁵¹² CCCM 49, 3.

⁵¹³ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 56, 5; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," *PL* 112, 704.

⁵¹⁴ Saint Augustine, "De magistro," *CCSL* 29, 170.

peculiar again, because this word means many things in medieval Latin (vision, conversion or baptism) but rarely means a written work or a book in the New Testament.⁵¹⁵ The choice of *nimirum* is not an unusual one but it is significant that this adverb is one of Gerard's favorite connecting words. As such, keeping its classical meaning based on its etymology (*ni* and *mirum*), *nimirum* is also a common word in the vocabulary of medieval Latin.⁵¹⁶ The use of the Greek noun *melodema* presents a different case: its musical aspect in medieval Latin cannot be denied, but in Gerard's use it has an additional meaning, equivalent to that of *himnus sacer*, because it refers to a lengthy quotation from Daniel (3.19–21 and 3.24–7). The noun otherwise also figures in John Scottus Eriugena.⁵¹⁷ Gerard's style is elevated when he concludes the quotations from Saint Paul (*hoc quidem Philipensibus in uinculis constitutus*) or opens the Pauline quotes (*in secunda Corinthorum inluminatio in uoce prorumpit dicens*). He provides yet another stylistic shift after the quotation: *Hoc autem de laude. Quod amodo de superlaude*. His reference to his own earlier sentences (*nimirum dictum supra parum reliquimus*) shows little elaboration again, just like the conclusion of the lengthy quotation from Daniel: *et cetera talia*.

The next passage also consists of elaborate and less polished parts: *Ve nobis, qui quotiens magis principi obedimus quam deo, tociens statuam auream adoramus... Quid dico statuam adorare? ... et multa infinita. Hoc autem de statua et appendiciis eius. Nunc de camino ignis dicendum, quem sancti potius appetunt quam praedicta*.⁵¹⁸ The use of the noun *appendiciis* is a lexical peculiarity again: it has a wide range of meanings in medieval Latin authors (tax, seal, sacristy or appendix). In the chronicle of the Hungarian Anonymus, for instance, it appears in the following context: *pro suo fidelissimo seruitio dedit castrum Bezprem cum ominibus (sic) appendiciis suis*.⁵¹⁹ The exclamation *Ve nobis* and the question *Quid dico* belong to the stylistically elaborate part of the passage, while the expressions *hoc autem de statua* and especially the *et multa infinita* leave the impression of a sketchy composition. Gerard closes the quotation from Psalms 61.11 with *et multa infinita*: expecting that his readers would be able to recall the remaining part of the psalm and leaving no doubt that he himself could go on quoting it forever. The *praedicta* is a simple substitution for a stylish elaboration, perhaps a stylistic device in itself.

⁵¹⁵ Du Cange (1844: 762); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1150); Bartal (1901: 316); Souter (1949: 183); Blaise (1975: 452); Niermeyer (1993: 509); *LLMAH* 5, 40.

⁵¹⁶ Sleumer (1926: 547); Glare (1982: 1178); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 254).

⁵¹⁷ John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1076. See Du Cange (1845: 350); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1413); Bartal (1901: 415); Blaise (1975: 578).

⁵¹⁸ *CCCM* 49, 4.

⁵¹⁹ Anonymus, "Gesta Hungarorum," *SRH* 1, 105. See Du Cange (1840: 330); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 178); Bartal (1901: 40); Souter (1949: 7); Blaise (1975: 58); *LLMAH* 1, 202–3; Habel and Gröbel (1989: 21); Niermeyer (1993: 51).

An artificial conversational style characterizes the following passage, in order to keep the attention of the audience by addressing them directly and referring to their experience from real life: *Nemo dubitet haec ad iocunditatem uiri contaminatissimi tunc temporis in Babylonia instrumenta musica esse... Multi hodie non solum laicorum, quin etiam clericorum, ut meretricibus possint placere, uersantur in talibus... Quid autem?... Quur ad tanta deuenimus? Nimirum quia in superioribus diximus quod... In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachiis Ciceronis astringaris. Sed quid tibi?... ait.* The same superlative adjective also figures in Saint Augustine (*uita contaminatissima*).⁵²⁰ Different from the expressions *nemo dubitet* and *multi hodie*, the function of the questions (*quid autem, quur ad tanta deuenimus, quid tibi*) is not only to keep the reader's attention alive but also to connect Biblical quotations. In classical terms, these stylistic features represent the level of the *humile genus*, far from the *grandiloquum* composition of the introduction. The less elaborate reference *in superioribus diximus* is followed by a rhetorical twist: the mentioning of Cicero's name.

Not much later, the *grandiloquum genus* returns again with another unusual word choice: *Tripertite generale formulatim inspecto, iungamus insidenti, antequam nos hora praetereat, uerum quod in prima fonte benedictionum habetur, sacramentorum obscuritas non patitur concite de traduce cimam arripere, nec adeo etiam differre... ut Paulus uas electionis nobiliter demonstrat dicens...*⁵²¹ The word *formulatim*, similarly to *pectoratim* in the introduction, is unusual in medieval Latin.⁵²² Gerard's metaphor of making progress in the interpretation of a text (*iungamus insidenti*) is also uncommon, and it corresponds here to the elevated style of another metaphor in the sentence: *concite de traduce cimam arripere*. The expression *sacramentorum obscuritas* also figures in Saint Augustine (*obscuritatem sacramentorum*).⁵²³ Another trace of the elevated style is that Saint Paul (earlier quoted by a simple *ait*) is introduced like this: *ut Paulus uas electionis nobiliter demonstrat dicens*. This is a matching pair to this formulation: *in secunda Corinthorum inluminatio in uoce prorumpit dicens*. The Biblical antecedent of the epithet *uas electionis* is Acts 9.15, taken over by patristic authors such as Saint Jerome (*Paulus, uas electionis*) and Saint Augustine (*Apostolus Paulus, uas electionis*).⁵²⁴

In the following, however, there is another shift in style: *Vae itaque nobis, qui quoties saecularia appetimus et transeuncia, toties Deum prouocamus ad inimiticiam (sic) nostram... Quare?* The exclamation *Vae itaque nobis* introduces a sentence in the *me-*

⁵²⁰ CCCM 49, 5; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 47, 9.

⁵²¹ CCCM 49, 6.

⁵²² Bartal (1901: 279); LLMAH 4, 129.

⁵²³ Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 38, 96.

⁵²⁴ Saint Jerome, "Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 21; Saint Augustine, "Sermones de uetere testamento," CCSL 41, 586.

dium genus but the question *Quare* switches to the level of *humile genus*.⁵²⁵ The same stylistic features appear later: *Quid dico?... A proposito autem recedens intromitto eloquia ex eloquiis, quo potius delecter tecum in officiis. Porro, si ais rabulatorem potius quam enucleatorem, in hoc conueniam, quod Dei sermo potestatis plenus est... sed ne oneri deputetur cumulatus quam examini optimorum dictorum pudica congressio, ad sulcationem conuertatur pristina stiuua*.⁵²⁶ While the passage reflects Ecclesiastes 8.4 (*et sermo illius potestate plenus est*), the repetition (*eloquia ex eloquiis*), the personal address (*tecum*), the word choices (*eloquia*, *rabulatorem*, *enucleatorem*, *sulcationem*) and the metaphor (*ad sulcationem conuertatur pristina stiuua*) serve here as tools of the elevated style. The plural noun *eloquia* refers to the Scriptures, as in many other instances in the work. In terms of vocabulary, *eloquium* often means sermon, prophecy or the word of God in medieval Latin.⁵²⁷ Less common are the nouns *rabulator*⁵²⁸ and *enucleator*.⁵²⁹ The noun *sulcatio* in the closing metaphor occasionally refers to labor, including literary activity, in medieval Latin. The classical and Carolingian parallels of Gerard's metaphor include Ovid (*Fasti* 4.825: *inde premens stiuam designat moenia sulco*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*uisitabis iustificando, et praeparando corda eorum ad sulcationem uerbi tui*).⁵³⁰

The next passage is an example of the stylistic level at the *medium genus*: *Denique sicut diuerso stilo, non uaria fide doctrine sunt sanctorum... Ut autem nos uera dicere, expediam quedam de talibus in praesenti, antequam nos hora praetereat, si cordi est opere*. The expression *diuerso stilo, non uaria fide* has classical, patristic, Carolingian and medieval parallels in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.1.20: *stilos inter se diuersos*), Saint Jerome (*Una uia est ueritatis, quae dicit in euangelio: "Ego sum uia et uita et ueritas"* (John 14.6). *Et multae mendaciorum uiae, per quas nunc ambulasse arguitur Hierusalem, quarum uiarum Deus sciens differentiam, supra loquitur ad errantes: "Non sicut uia mea, uiae uestrae"* (Isaiah 55.8)... *Cognita igitur una uia regia, uideamus quae dextrae uiae sint et sinistrae, per quas prohibemur incedere*), Saint Augustine (*diuerso stilo, non diuersa fide*, quoted by Bede the Venerable), Hrabanus Maurus (*et alia atque alia diuerso stylo non diuersa fide scriptitarint*), Hincmar of Reims (*diuerso stylo, sed non diuersa fide*) and Otloh of Saint Emmeram (*Tres namque libellos diuerso tempore diuersoque stylo edidi*). These instances also involve the notion of the variety of style in classical rhetorical practice.⁵³¹

⁵²⁵ CCCM 49, 7.

⁵²⁶ CCCM 49, 8.

⁵²⁷ Bartal (1901: 239); Sleumer (1926: 299); Souter (1949: 120); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 128); *LLMAH* 3, 314; Niermeyer (1993: 370).

⁵²⁸ Bartal (1901: 553).

⁵²⁹ Souter (1949: 124); *LLMAH* 3, 335–6.

⁵³⁰ Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," *PL* 131, 468. See Blaise (1975: 884).

⁵³¹ CCCM 49, 9; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," *CCSL* 73A, 649; Saint Augustine, "De Trinitate libri XV," *CCSL* 50, 33; Bede the Venerable, "De temporum ratione liber," *CCSL* 123B, 265;

Gerard concludes an extensive enumeration of various types of heresy on the basis of Isidore's *Etymologiae* in the following way: *Laboriosum autem nimis est talium ineptias percurrere, et languidis lectoribus periculosissimum recitare*. The vocabulary of the sentence resembles classical and patristic authors such as Cicero (*De oratore* 2.85.346: *aut laboriosa aut periculosa*), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 39.1.6: *laboriosa simul periculosaque*), and Saint Augustine (*ubi et dicere, quid sentias, periculosissimum et non dicere laboriosissimum et aliud, quam sentis, dicere perniciosissimum est*).⁵³²

Similarly to the introduction, the closing part of Book One, after constant shifts between levels of style, returns to the *grandiloquum genus*: *in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus... diuersissimos ex diuersitate... Quomodo?... Apostolorum uero lingua... Sed cuperem longius dicere. Hora autem nos expectat et cauma usquequaque conturbat. Quoniam in crastino ad incidencia nosmet extendere cupimus et rimari circa potenciam omissum optamus, ideo tali termino ex more lectionem concludamus: Sit nomen Domini benedictum, ex hoc nunc, et usque in saeculum. Amen*.⁵³³ The elevated style is apparent in Gerard's reference to the Scriptures (*in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus*), the way in which he quotes Saint Paul (*apostolorum uero lingua*), and the use of the nouns *uociferationibus* and *cauma*. The noun *uociferatio* is indeed a rare word, especially in the sense of the Bible.⁵³⁴ The Greek noun *cauma* occurs in medieval Latin but its use, instead of the more common *aestus*, *ardor* or *calor*, implies a stylistic input in the works of other authors as well as in the *Deliberatio*.⁵³⁵

Overall, the lexical and stylistic review of Book One shows that Gerard frequently provides sudden transitions into dry enumerations and short sentences, which sometimes leaves the reader with the impression that parts of the text in the Munich manuscript survive in a draft format, lacking the final polish by the author. This impression is reinforced by Gerard's vocabulary, orthography, morphology, syntax and style, which are far from the linguistic discipline of his sources and look peculiar by medieval and especially Carolingian standards, not to speak of classical ones.⁵³⁶ The sudden changes in levels of style, resulting in an uneven prose composition, represent Gerard's personal style, but it is still a question whether he wanted to adjust his own style to the standards of classical Latin rhetoric and whether these changes reveal what he meant by the ancient *genera dicendi*: *humile genus*, *medium genus* and *grandiloquum genus*.⁵³⁷

Hrabanus Maurus, "In honorem sanctae crucis," *CCCM* 100, 53; Hincmar of Reims, "De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio," *PL* 125, 87; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Libellus de tentationibus," *PL* 146, 51.

⁵³² *CCCM* 49, 10–1; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 34.2, 509.

⁵³³ *CCCM* 49, 11.

⁵³⁴ Bartal (1901: 702).

⁵³⁵ Du Cange (1842: 255); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 460); Bartal (1901: 113); Sleumer (1926: 197); Souter (1949: 44); Blaise (1975: 162); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 53); *LLMAH* 2, 75; Niermeyer (1993: 159).

⁵³⁶ See Mezey (1980: 590–8).

⁵³⁷ See Janson (1964: 134–41).

However superficial Gerard's rhetorical training, ancient rhetoric plays an important part in his work, which is basically intended for meditation. Is it an outcome of a mere coincidence or of the author's desperate attempt at refuting ancient rhetoric? Probable neither of these two. One can propose that it is Gerard's deliberate purpose to maintain this characteristic ambivalence that had a long tradition in medieval Latin literature. The life of Alcuin, for instance, reports that he regretted his preference of Vergil to the Psalms (*corde dicebat imo: ... si... plusque ultra Virgilium quam psalmorum modulationem amauero*). Alcuin, however, was decidedly ambiguous about the classics that seemed worthy of studying not for their content but for their language in order to produce Christian literature in decent Latin.⁵³⁸ This tradition was vital in the eleventh century as well. As Robert Black formulated it recently about Peter Damian, "he spoke as somebody who knew the enemy: he was one of the outstanding Latinists of his day..."⁵³⁹

As regards the classical forms of expression, Gerard may not have been an outstanding Latinist, or rather classical Latinist, of his day, but he was aware of the importance of ancient rhetoric to a considerable extent. For him, claiming superiority of the Christian doctrine over the philosophical statements of Greek and Roman authors was not the same as criticizing ancient rhetoric. He was therefore not only like Peter Damian but also like the mid-tenth-century Gunzo of Novara. Gunzo defended the liberal arts from the cheating *grammaticus* and responded in his letter to the monks of Reichenau to the claim of the monks of Saint Gall who maintained that he could not write proper Latin: *Haec strictim commemoravi, non quo artium prima ponerem, sed ut stultitiam indocti monachi reprehenderem, cui cum scientia abesset artium liberalium, maluit fraude grammaticus uideri, quam scientiam artium saltem extrinsecus adipisci. Est enim ars intrinsecus, est et extrinsecus. Infelix, quia intrinsecus fortasse artes non potuit, quare non saltem extrinsecus acquisiuit?*⁵⁴⁰

Gerard, on the other hand, obviously did not belong to the elite rank of rhetoricians or grammarians of his day either. Indeed, in his time nothing resembled the context of the public speaking of classical Ciceronian oratory. The sermons provided a completely different context and the rhetorician's craft was considered a scholarly endeavor, lacking most aspects of republican and even imperial Rome. Gerard's mediocre expertise in the liberal arts in general and in the art of rhetoric in particular is precisely what makes his work interesting as an example of what literate clerics with an average or modest training made of ancient rhetoric in the Middle Ages. Although a more detailed picture of the sources of his treatment of ancient rhetoric in the *Delibe-*

⁵³⁸ "Beati Flacci Alcuini vita," *PL* 100, 92. See Thompson (1948: 29–48); Wieland (1992: 84–95); Holtz (1997: 67–80); Farrell (2001: 14–6).

⁵³⁹ Black (2001: 181).

⁵⁴⁰ Gunzo of Novara, "Epistola ad Augienses fratres," *PL* 136, 1300. See Manitius (1911: 531–6); Foligno (1929: 94).

ratio is still to be drawn, one can already find Gerard's place in the ongoing discussion about originality in medieval Latin literature—in a setting where *imitatio* is more important than *inuentio* and where *aemulatio*, artistic rivalry and textual parallels are not always *imitatio* but rather a “shared participation in a heritage of literary composition.” Since Gerard's peculiar use of ancient rhetoric is everything but *imitatio* of the great authorities, he may not be an advanced rhetorician but as a medieval Latin author he is surely original.⁵⁴¹

A further important feature of the *Deliberatio* is the author's attempt at creating a fictive audience by the use of the second person singular. Preparing the text for the critical edition, Gabriel Silagi suggested that the work featured *die Fiktion des Dialoges*.⁵⁴² Through a close examination of the role of the addressee and the persons named explicitly in the *Deliberatio* and, more importantly, the function of the second person singular verbs and pronouns, a Latinist way of exploration reveals how this fiction of a dialog applies to the relation between orality and literacy in order to produce a fictive audience and how this literary convention fits into a wider linguistic and social context, and into the classical tradition. Before turning to the second person singular, one must observe Gerard's preface to his treatise. The title itself, in its present form probably not by the author, features the following dedication: *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresenae aeclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrimum liberalem*.⁵⁴³ Already the dedication illustrates that Gerard had a circle of colleagues and disciples, very similar to that of the secular masters he was about to refute. The most important person in Gerard's audience is the addressee of the work: Isingrim. Previous research suggested that Isingrim was probably a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Salzburg and later abbot of Admont.⁵⁴⁴

From the point of view of identifying the addressee of Gerard's *Deliberatio*, numerous documents have hitherto been neglected. The several occurrences of various forms of the name Isingrim in documents related to Regensburg suggest that Isingrim might have come from that region. According to the *Traditiones Emmeramenses*, one or perhaps more witnesses were called *Isangrim* even in ninth-century documents.⁵⁴⁵ The Annals of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg mention *Isangrim*, who was appointed bishop in 933 (*Isangrim ordinatur episcopus*). Conciliar proceedings also mention this bishop of Regensburg (*Isingrimus Radasponensis sedis antistes, Isangrimo episcopo Ratisponensi*). So does a letter by Pope Leo VII, where one of the numerous addressees is Bishop Isingrim of Regensburg (*Isingrimo Retisponensis... ecclesiae uenerabilibus episcopis*). Arnold of Saint Emmeram also reports on Bishop

⁵⁴¹ See Kennedy (1995: 65–71); Haye (1998: 45–54); Westra (2001: 287); Ziolkowski (2001: 303).

⁵⁴² Silagi (1967: 13).

⁵⁴³ CCCM 49, 1.

⁵⁴⁴ Batthyány (see n. 315, xxvii); Morin (1939: 272–3); Csóka (1967b: 14); Silagi (1967: 5–8).

⁵⁴⁵ Anamodus of Regensburg, “Traditiones Emmeramenses,” PL 129, 929, 933, 939.

Isingrim in his enumeration of the bishops of Regensburg (*Tum episcopatus Ratisbonensis Asperito prouenit, cui successit uir magnae mansuetudinis et pietatis nomine Tuto, clarus ingenio; is habuit successores, Isangrimum, Guntharim, et Michahelem*).⁵⁴⁶

While these instances show that the name may have been popular in the Regensburg region and especially around Saint Emmeram, they are not contemporaneous with the addressee of Gerard's work. This is unlike a set of documents from Freising where the name *Isangrim*—*Isingrim* appears frequently, usually among the witnesses. A document written between 994 and 1005 contains the following: *Tradidit namque idem Ernust in manum episcopi et aduocati eius... ad altare sancte Marie sanctique Corbiniani perpetualiter existendum... Isti sunt testes:... Isangrim...* A document from 1022–1031 and two others from 1024–1031 mention a certain Isingrim as the *aduocatus* of Abbot Arnold of Weihestephano. One of them contains the following note: *Nouerit omnis turba Christi fidelium, qualiter idem abbas Arnoldus per manum aduocati sui Isingrimi... ad altare sancte Marie et sancti Corbiniani tradidit*. It is significant that the occurrences of the expression *sancte Marie sanctique Corbiniani* in these Freising documents, containing the name Isingrim, resemble the twelfth-century possessor's note in the Munich manuscript of Gerard's *Deliberatio*, which belonged to the Freising library in the Middle Ages (*liber iste est sancte marie sanctique corbiniani frisingensis*). If the addressee of the work was from Freising, this would support the hypothesis, proposed by Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, that the manuscript was intended to be a textbook for the Freising community. (It is still a question, however, whether the co-dex was copied in Hungary and how it arrived at the cathedral library of Freising.)⁵⁴⁷

Overall, besides Salzburg and Admont, suggested by earlier scholarship, Regensburg and Freising should also be considered as the home of Isingrim, to whom Gerard dedicated his work. Of the titles of the eight books of the *Deliberatio*, seven stress the person of the addressee: *Item eiusdem* (that is, of Gerard) *ad eundem* (that is, to Isingrim).⁵⁴⁸ Gerard provides stylistically elaborate references to Isingrim in the third person singular (*nostro in fratre diuini collegii Isingrimo* and *breuiter Isingrimi mei dulcissime germanitati expedit*) that reflect patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Ambrose (*Quam fraterna pietas, quam dulcis germanitas*) and Alcuin (*dulcedinem uestram et germanitatem*). In a different context, Gerard applies the term *diuinum*

⁵⁴⁶ “*Annales sancti Emmerammi Ratisponensis minores*,” *MGH: Scriptores* 1, 94; Ernst-Dieter Hehl and Horst Fuhrmann, ed., *MGH: Concilia*, vol. 6.1, *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–960* (Hanover: Hahn, 1987), 95, 120; Leo VII, “*Epistolae et privilegia*,” *PL* 132, 1085; Arnold of Saint Emmeram, “*De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi*,” *PL* 141, 1044.

⁵⁴⁷ Theodor Bitterauf, ed., *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. 2, 926–1283 (Aalen: Scientia, 1967), 201–2, 208, 216–7, 217–8, 219, 224, 226–7, 230–1, 238, 252, 252–3, 253–4, 256–7, 258–9, 261–2, 268, 268–9, 272–3, 274, 277, 281, 287, 291–2, 296–300, 301, 303, 305–6, 309, 450–2, 455, 456. See also Kosztolnyik (1969a); Brunhölzl (1992: 488–9).

⁵⁴⁸ *CCCM* 49, 1, 26, 39, 56, 79, 108, 135.

collegium to the three boys in the Book of Daniel (*Diuini quidem diuini collegii uiri*).⁵⁴⁹ This indicates that Gerard has a real audience in mind, one whom he usually addresses in the second person singular: *tue familiaritati* (reflecting Alcuin: *tuae familiaritati*),⁵⁵⁰ *tui similes*⁵⁵¹ and *tua dilectio*. The last address also appears in King Stephen's *Admonitions* (*tua dilectione*) and later in the chronicle of the Hungarian Anonymus (*Promisi et enim me facturum, sed aliis negotiis impeditus et tue petitionis et mee promissionis iam pene eram oblitus, nisi mihi per litteras tua dilectio debitum reddere monuisset. Memor igitur tue dilectionis... facere tamen aggressus sum, que facere iussisti*).⁵⁵²

In Gerard's preface, one also discovers the modest literary conventions of *recusatio*: *quod examinandum postulasti... difficillimum sumas... tue postulationi satisfacere... tibi plenissime ad libitum obuiare*. Similar literary conventions of *recusatio* are characteristic in Saint Jerome (*desiderio postulantis satisfacere*) and Cassiodorus (*desiderio satisfaciat postulantis*), and also in Arnold of Saint Emmeram (*Sin uero satisfactum fuerit postulationi meae*).⁵⁵³ The convention of combining modesty with the satisfaction of a friend's demand figures later in the work as well: *tibi... supra potentiam satisfaciam* and *instigatus a te ipso*. Gerard also admits that Isingrim could have entertained the Biblical subject a lot better (*accessi ad carmen misteriale, quoquo modo desiderans inuestigare, quod tu mirabilius solius cordi esset, quiueras perlibare*), since he is also interested in interpreting the Bible: *te quoque audidum talium reseratione non dubito*. (The term *reseratio* also occurs in John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of and commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in similar contexts: *Etenim habere theologicos characteres, et diuinorum nominum reserationem breuiorem uerbis esse symbolica theologia; pauca de pluribus propter presentis periodi reserationem pregustabimus*).⁵⁵⁴

In addition to Isingrim, Gerard names three more contemporaries among his audience: Presbyter Dodo, Brother Andrew and Abbot Richard. Presbyter Dodo is otherwise completely unknown so far. Gerard sent some books with him to Isingrim: *siue te enim ex parte haec non ambigo quondam per presbiterum Dodonem a nobis accepisse*.

⁵⁴⁹ CCCM 49, 27, 29, 148; Saint Ambrose, "De Ioseph," CSEL 32.2, 115; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 244.

⁵⁵⁰ CCCM 49, 43; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 263.

⁵⁵¹ CCCM 49, 45.

⁵⁵² CCCM 49, 148; "Libellus de institutione morum," SRH 2, 624; Anonymus, "Gesta Hungarorum," SRH 1, 33.

⁵⁵³ CCCM 49, 1; Saint Jerome, "Epistolae," CSEL 55, 434; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 133; Arnold of Saint Emmeram, "De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi," PL 141, 1088. See Janson (1964: 134–41).

⁵⁵⁴ CCCM 49, 28, 32, 38, 43; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia," PL 122, 1175; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 11.

(It should be noted here that the contemporary *Necrologium ecclesiae beatae Mariae Carnotensis*, surviving in a Chartres manuscript from Bishop Fulbert's day, records the death of a certain Presbyter Dodo: *Obiit Dodo, presbiter et canonicus Sancte Marie.*)⁵⁵⁵

Gerard writes about Brother Andrew in the following context: *Te autem auidissimum sciens de omnibus auditorem, immo et prestantissimum relatorem, potius ab aliis quam a tuis gratanter subducatur, quamlibet sanctus noster frater Andreas a nostro semper in hoc ipso collo dependat, cuius nimirum imperio non satisfacere delinquere non mediocriter est, et tandem quod iussisti, de omnibus nos interim cogit silere sibi-que solius inpensum impendere, ne quidem tue inpensu caream gratie.* (Gerard's clause of modesty here reflects that of Cassiodorus: *quatinus et nostro imperio et uestrae utilitati satisfacisse uideamini.*)⁵⁵⁶ Brother Andrew keeps bothering Gerard to write another work, but the author would rather fulfill the request of Isingrim, perhaps because he had already composed a booklet for Andrew: the *De diuino patrimonio* (*Supra autem hoc in libello de diuino patrimonio, quem nuperrime in tabellis solius ad Andream diuinum fratrem exemplicaui*). It has recently been suggested that Brother Andrew might have been identical with the martyr hermit Saint Zoerard-Andrew, whose legend was written by Bishop Maurus of Pécs in the mid-eleventh century.⁵⁵⁷

Gerard's third acquaintance mentioned explicitly in the *Deliberatio* is the learned Abbot Richard: *In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuine germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus, qui nunc apud abbatem Richardum, incontaminatum Christi famulum diuinitus eruditum, est, de istiusmodi tam nudatione quam reseratione latissime anno preterito disputauimus, ideo non inmorandum, precipue cum nos iam stilus fatiget.*⁵⁵⁸ The expression *latissime... disputauimus* appears elsewhere in the *Deliberatio* too (*De hoc autem in prima sedula latissime disputatum est*) and it reflects Saint Jerome (*de quibus in alio opere latissime disputauit*) and Saint Augustine (*latissime disputatur*). Abbot Richard, whom Gerard calls *diuinitus eruditum* (a term from John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita again: *diuinitus eruditi*), was apparently in possession of Gerard's work *De diuino patrimonio* during the composition of the *Deliberatio*. It is grammatically ambivalent in Gerard's sentence whether the pronoun *qui* refers to the *libellus* or to

⁵⁵⁵ CCCM 49, 32; René Merlet and Alexandre Clerval, ed., *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 149, 170. See also Silagi (1967: 9).

⁵⁵⁶ CCCM 49, 140–1; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 263.

⁵⁵⁷ CCCM 49, 153; Maurus, "Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti," SRH 2, 347–61. See Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, ed., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aeclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1999), xi.

⁵⁵⁸ CCCM 49, 178.

Andreas.⁵⁵⁹ Previous scholarship identified Richard with Abbot Richard of Saint Vanes in Verdun. Reported by Ademar of Chabannes and others, Richard traveled to the Holy Land via Hungary, where he may have met not only King Stephen but also Gerard himself. (If the meeting indeed took place in 1026, it happened before Gerard was appointed bishop of Csanád in 1030.)⁵⁶⁰

Consequently, Isingrim, Dodo, Andrew and Richard can be considered Gerard's real immediate audience; he mentions them in the *Deliberatio* apparently at random. The extraordinarily great number of occurrences of the second person singular in the work, however, raises the question whether they were the author's only targeted audience. Without considering his numerous Biblical and patristic quotations, Gerard's own words, mainly verbs, in the second person singular reveal much of his attitude towards his audience. In a conversational fashion, he uses the present imperative active *uide* four times.⁵⁶¹ Parallel to this, he also writes *si uis aspicere ad hec*.⁵⁶² Besides the image of looking, however, the metaphor of intellectual attention is rather expressed with various forms of the verb *audio*. Its perfect indicative active, *audisti*, occurs twenty-six times in the work.⁵⁶³ Influenced by the Bible, this form appears many times in the expression *dictum audisti*, modeled on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel according to Matthew (5.21, 5.27, 5.33, 5.38 and 5.43). Just as Jesus was delivering a sermon, so Gerard maintains the fiction of an oral discourse.⁵⁶⁴ He also features the ablative absolute construction *te audiente*. The rare instances of this ablative absolute in classical and Carolingian Latin include Cicero's *Brutus* 11.44 and the letters of Hincmar of Reims.⁵⁶⁵

The conversational style of the literary piece is even more plausible in the following sentence: *Terribile autem totum quod dicitur, mihi crede, beatissime frater. Ex Deo nimirum non peribentur, qui de mundo loquuntur, ut tua beatissima auris audiuit*.⁵⁶⁶ The rhetorical question *uis audire* appears twenty-four times throughout the work. (The *audire* on the margin of fol. 53r of the manuscript is written by a corrector's hand.) The same rhetorical question often appears in classical Latin (Plautus, *Mercator* 886, Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.32.77, Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.48, Ovid, *Ex*

⁵⁵⁹ CCCM 49, 61; Saint Jerome, "Commentarioli in Psalmos," CCSL 72, 177; Saint Augustine, "Contra secundam Juliani responsionem," PL 45, 1440; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagite: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," PL 122, 1077.

⁵⁶⁰ Ademar of Chabannes, "Chronicon," CCCM 129, 184; CFHH 1–3, 15–7, 1200–2, 2613. See Sackur (1886: 93–8); Eckhardt (1936: 38); Birkás (1948: 8); Southern (1993: 52–3); Landes (1995: 157); Veszprémy (2003: 459–67). See also Turcan-Verkerk (1992: 157–203).

⁵⁶¹ CCCM 49, 13, 15, 141, 166.

⁵⁶² CCCM 49, 140.

⁵⁶³ CCCM 49, 7, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 21, 21, 24, 41, 45, 61, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 137, 141, 142, 144, 169, 171, 175.

⁵⁶⁴ CCCM 49, 7, 17, 41, 65.

⁵⁶⁵ CCCM 49, 20; Hincmar of Reims, "Epistolae," PL 126, 556.

⁵⁶⁶ CCCM 49, 16.

Ponto 4.3.11, Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri magni* 7.1.28 and 9.3.6, Martial, *Epigrammata* 14.198.1, and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.1.8), as well as in patristic and medieval Latin.⁵⁶⁷ Both the present indicative active *audis*⁵⁶⁸ and the present imperative active *audi* occur ten times in the *Deliberatio*.⁵⁶⁹ Resembling a dialog between master and disciple, five of these imperative forms appear in the expression *si queris... audi*. The same expression occurs in Saint Ambrose, Cassiodorus, and John Scottus Eriugena.⁵⁷⁰ A parallel to this is the expression *si queris... disce*, which occurs seven times in the text.⁵⁷¹ Another variant, *si queris... recurre*, is also used.⁵⁷²

One of the quasi-conversational sentences sounds like this: *Quam, inquis? Si queris, audi solius, intende considera et hanc doctrinam scribe in tabulis cordis tui*. Gerard employs the phrase elsewhere too: *In tabulis cordis digito maiestatis*. Its Biblical parallels are Proverbs 3.3 (*describe in tabulis cordis tui*), Proverbs 7.3 (*liga eam in digitis tuis, scribe illam in tabulis cordis tui*), and 2 Corinthians 3.3 (*in tabulis cordis carnalibus*).⁵⁷³ Further subjunctives and imperatives requiring the attention of the audience include *advertis* (along with *ausculta*), *adverte* and *animadverte*.⁵⁷⁴ Other aspects of orality can be discerned in the use of the present subjunctive passive *audiaris*: *Audi... ut audiaris*. This present subjunctive passive occurs earlier in Saint Ambrose: *Ergo etiamsi in te uerbum dei sit, et tacebis in dei uerbo et tacitus clamabis, ut audiaris a Christo*.⁵⁷⁵

Gerard's audience, however, is not a passive one. The author himself formulates some questions on behalf of his partner, and the introduction to these sentences is six times *inquis*.⁵⁷⁶ The fiction of a dialog appears here very clearly: *Quur talia in dictis prosequeris, inquis?* The phrase has classical, patristic and Carolingian antecedents in Vergil (*Aeneis* 6.898: *prosequitur dictis*), Lactantius (*dictis prosequatur*), and Walafrid Strabo (quoting Vergil).⁵⁷⁷ The indicative form *dicis* (one of them addressing John the apostle: *Quid loqueris, Iohannes? Tu illos doces, dicis tamen...*)⁵⁷⁸ and the

⁵⁶⁷ CCCM 49, 18, 20, 48, 55, 57, 89, 119, 121, 122, 124, 124, 124, 126, 126, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 141, 144, 161, 162, 164.

⁵⁶⁸ CCCM 49, 12, 26, 52, 53, 62, 62, 141, 163, 163, 176.

⁵⁶⁹ CCCM 49, 7, 11, 19, 20, 23, 88, 142, 145, 152, 173.

⁵⁷⁰ CCCM 49, 7, 20, 88, 142, 145; Saint Ambrose, "Epistularum liber decimus," CSEL 82.3, 130; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1033; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 5.

⁵⁷¹ CCCM 49, 12, 17, 19, 24, 142, 152, 173.

⁵⁷² CCCM 49, 15.

⁵⁷³ CCCM 49, 145, 177.

⁵⁷⁴ CCCM 49, 27, 62, 91.

⁵⁷⁵ CCCM 49, 173; Saint Ambrose, "Explanatio Psalmorum XII," CSEL 64, 189.

⁵⁷⁶ CCCM 49, 8, 11, 88, 145, 145, 162.

⁵⁷⁷ CCCM 49, 8; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 110; Walafrid Strabo, "De visionibus Wetini," PL 114, 1076.

⁵⁷⁸ CCCM 49, 16, 90, 166.

subjunctive *dicas* figure three and four times respectively.⁵⁷⁹ Gerard also uses the terms *inuenis*⁵⁸⁰ and *inuenies*. One of the latter appears in the clause *et tunc nos plenissime ueraces inuenies*, showing the influence of Ecclesiasticus 15.8: *et uiri ueraces inueniuntur*. Whereas the present tense is read only once, the future occurs nine times.⁵⁸¹ Another frequently used expression of the author's is *non/ne/nec dubites*: it appears sixteen times in the work.⁵⁸² The exceptional use of the same verb in the third person singular, *ut nemo dubitaret*, just proves the rule, namely that Gerard generally uses the second person singular even in these sorts of insertion.⁵⁸³ Similarly, he three times applies the subjunctive form *non/nec/nil estimates*.⁵⁸⁴ Apart from these typical uses of the verbs in the second person singular, although there are many more, one should also refer to the instances of the present form *deliberas* and the imperative *delibera*, since the title of the work itself is also *Deliberatio*, and the various forms and derivatives of the verb carry a meaning charged with strong connotations to a classical technical term of ancient rhetoric, the *deliberatiuum genus* of the *genera causarum*.⁵⁸⁵ Finally, it is significant that Gerard, excerpting the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus (1.16.2), inserts an expression into the adapted passage: *ut doctus es*. Thus, he is definitely adjusting the excerpt from Cassiodorus to his own conversational style: *Istas sic quidem litteras, ut doctus es, non ratio humana repperit*.⁵⁸⁶

In addition to the verbs, there is an abundance of pronouns in the second person singular. Various cases of the personal pronouns read twenty-three times,⁵⁸⁷ while those of the possessive pronouns appear thirteen times.⁵⁸⁸ Of the latter, the pronoun *tuus* often has an ironic overtone apparently directed against the likes of Isingrim the *liberalis*, along with all dialecticians and representatives of secular learning: *tuusque Socrates* and *tuus Porphirius*.⁵⁸⁹ This ironic attitude is also reflected in his sharp remarks: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachiis Ciceronis astringaris* and *nisi Crispus obstaculum tibi fiat*.⁵⁹⁰ Gerard states explicitly, however, that he is addressing a learned audience: *Nec enim huic scribitur liber, qui talia ignoret, quamlibet non tantum ignorantibus, quam etiam optime scientibus dicta nos oporteat commendare diuina*. This formulation has a double implication: it shows that Gerard's attitude towards

⁵⁷⁹ CCCM 49, 12, 30, 69, 115.

⁵⁸⁰ CCCM 49, 63.

⁵⁸¹ CCCM 49, 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24.

⁵⁸² CCCM 49, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 37, 44, 54, 81, 89, 103, 142, 167.

⁵⁸³ CCCM 49, 30.

⁵⁸⁴ CCCM 49, 13, 51, 89.

⁵⁸⁵ CCCM 49, 21, 146.

⁵⁸⁶ CCCM 49, 149.

⁵⁸⁷ CCCM 49, 1, 3, 5, 8, 13, 20, 27, 28, 32, 32, 33, 38, 39, 43, 55, 62, 66, 68, 85, 85, 140, 154, 157.

⁵⁸⁸ CCCM 49, 1, 16, 32, 33, 40, 40, 43, 45, 70, 140, 141, 145, 148.

⁵⁸⁹ CCCM 49, 33, 40.

⁵⁹⁰ CCCM 49, 5, 13.

secular learning is at least ambivalent and, more importantly, that his audience does not consist of Isingrim alone.⁵⁹¹ The second person plural possessive pronouns also appear in his *Deliberatio* in the context of secular learning when he indirectly quotes the pagan Roman authors Terence (*Unus autem ex uestris*) and Lucretius (*Unus autem uestrum*) via Isidorian mediation (*Etymologiae* 1.36.3, 2.9.11, 2.11.1, 2.21.14 and 13.4.3).⁵⁹² In contrast, Gerard also uses the first person plural, probably referring to Saint Jerome: *unus ex nostris*.⁵⁹³

Apart from exploiting the possibilities given by grammar, he also draws the attention of his audience to the circumstances of real life in order to lighten the tone of his abstract exegetical treatise: *Multa dici possunt, sed penuria scriptorum atque membranarum non patitur*. This passage recalls similar phrases in classical, patristic and medieval authors such as Horace (*Sermones* 2.3.1–2: *Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno/ membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens*), Saint Jerome (*tamen rex Attalus membranas e Pergamo miserat, ut penuria chartae pellibus pensaretur; quia in hac prouincia Latini sermonis scriptorumque penuria est*) and Adam of Bremen (*facta memorantur, quae scriptorum penuria nunc habentur pro fabulis*).⁵⁹⁴ Gerard's other phrases and clauses of the same sort include the ones that refer to the physical labor, exhaustion, and hunger of a writer: *fatigato stilo; Quia uero iam nos stilus fatigat tempusque iminet reficiendi esuries; antequam ad mensam tendamus... quamlibet tempus instet et nos iam stilus fatiget; stilo nos fatigante, calce uero hore terminum exposcente; cum nos iam stilus fatiget*. Since these phrases and clauses usually appear at the end of a book in the *Deliberatio*, apart from being indicators of Gerard's concept of time, they also serve as literary excuses for finishing parts of the work. This is all the more so because similar features occur in the learned Latin of Peter Damian as well (*His igitur paucis rationem me uobis reddidisse suffitiat, ne longior stilus fatigari uos nimia prolixitate compellat*).⁵⁹⁵ The literary conventions that also indicate Gerard's concept of time, as well as striving to establish a more informal contact with the audience, include the clause *antequam nos hora praetereat*, which occurs eight times in the work.⁵⁹⁶ This and other similar phrases (*hora autem nos expectat, hora elabitur, quia uero nos hora praeterire festinat, quia uero iam hora nos cogit ad horas*) have parallels in classical and Biblical Latin (Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 3.64: *Nec quae praeteriit, hora redire*

⁵⁹¹ CCCM 49, 34–5.

⁵⁹² CCCM 49, 23, 158.

⁵⁹³ CCCM 49, 80.

⁵⁹⁴ CCCM 49, 177; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 27; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 33; Adam of Bremen, "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum," MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 104. See Hulley (1943: 83–92).

⁵⁹⁵ CCCM 49, 73, 78, 105, 134, 178; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 535.

⁵⁹⁶ CCCM 49, 6, 9, 20, 33, 47, 117, 134, 168.

potest, Matthew 14.15: *hora iam praeteriit*, and Mark 6.35: *iam hora praeteriuit*).⁵⁹⁷

Without considering Gerard's quotations, the frequency of occurrences of the second person singular yields the following grammatical distribution (the numerals refer to the page numbers of Silagi's edition) – present indicative active: *admittis* 18, 108, *audis* 12, 26, 52, 53, 62, 62, 141, 163, 163, 176, *cessas* 33, *deliberas* 146, *dicis* 16, 90, 166, *dirigis* 39, *doces* 40, *geris* 39, *habes* 11, 23, 157, *inquis* 8, 11, 88, 145, 145, 162, *inuenis* 63, *legis* 141, *op(b)tas* 27, 146, *potes* 41, 67, 153, *queris* 7, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 88, 142, 142, 145, 152, 173, *recurris* 153, *uis* 18, 19, 20, 48, 55, 57, 62, 67, 89, 119, 121, 122, 124, 124, 124, 126, 126, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 140, 141, 144, 154, 161, 162, 164; perfect indicative active: *audisti* 7, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 21, 21, 24, 41, 45, 61, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 137, 141, 142, 144, 169, 171, 175, *iussisti* 141, *postulasti* 1; pluperfect indicative active: *quiueras* 38; future indicative active: *comprobabis* 24, 85, *inuenies* 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24; perfect indicative passive: *doctus es* 68, 149, *es hortatus* (deponent) 37; present subjunctive active: *admittas* 152, *aduertas* 27, *(a)estimes* 13, 51, 89, *cognoscas* 34, *dicas* 12, 30, 69, 115, *dubites* 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 37, 44, 54, 81, 89, 103, 142, 167, 167, *ignores* 34, *sapias* 9, 167, *scias* 41, *sumas* 1; perfect subjunctive active: *aderis* 5; imperfect subjunctive active: *considerares* 52, *scires* 52, 55; present subjunctive passive: *astringar* 5, *audiar* 173, *exprimaris* 66, *innitar* (deponent) 66, *suffoceris* 66; present imperative active: *aduerte* 62, *animaduerte* 91, *audi* 7, 11, 19, 20, 23, 88, 142, 145, 152, 173, *ausculta* 27, *considera* 145, *crede* 16, *delibera* 21, *disce* 12, 16, 17, 19, 24, 90, 142, 152, 166, 173, *erubescere* 166, *exerce* 154, *fer* 39, *intellege* 52, *lege* 24, *recurre* 15, 24, *scribe* 145, *sume* 21, 66, *tracta* 68, *uide* 13, 15, 141, 166; personal pronoun: *a te* 32, *te* 3, 20, 32, 39, 43, 62, 68, 85, 140, 154, *tecum* 8, *tibi* 1, 5, 13, 27, 28, 157, *tu* 33, 38, 55, 66; possessive pronoun: *tua* 16, 148, *tuam* 32, *tue* 1, 43, 141, *tui* 45, 145, *tuis* 140, *tuo* 70, *tuos* 40, *tuus(que)* 33, 40; vocative case: *beatissime frater* 16, *frater carissime* 51.

To summarize the function of the second person singular in the *Deliberatio*, one must keep in mind the fact that a great deal of the Latin texts produced in the Middle Ages, that is, liturgical ones, were based on oral performance to a considerable extent. Interpreting Gerard's work, which was not composed for the purpose of liturgical practice but very much influenced by it, involves interpretation of the problem of the *uox paginarum* being read aloud, because Saint Augustine's classic formulation of silent reading (*Sed cum legebatur, oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur, uox autem et lingua quiescebant*) does not necessarily hold true for Gerard's surroundings.⁵⁹⁸ From this point of view, the use of the second person singular in the work is a literary convention in a linguistic and a social context—both with a long tra-

⁵⁹⁷ CCCM 49, 11, 44, 55, 179.

⁵⁹⁸ Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," CCSL 27, 75. See Balogh (1925: 345–8); Balogh (1926: 84–109, 202–40); Busch (2002: 1–45). See also Saenger (1997).

dition. The linguistic tradition is based on the classical models of ancient Greek and Roman literature. In classical Latin, the indefinite second person singular, referring to an indefinite subject, functions as a means to create a didactic dialog or to make a statement personal. In post-classical Latin, a gradual shift puts the stress on the reference to an unreal person and an imaginary or fictive audience in order to involve the reader, present and future. In both classical and post-classical Latin forms of address, including early Christian writers, adjectives expressing affection or respect are often vocatives and superlatives—as is the case in the *Deliberatio* as well. From the linguistic perspective, therefore, the syntax and style as reflected in the use of the second person singular in Bishop Gerard's work is an eleventh-century product of this tradition.⁵⁹⁹ From the perspective of the social context, however, the *Deliberatio* was probably not written for reading aloud in a monastic or cathedral community. The fact that only one manuscript of it survives also excludes this possibility. In any case, whether it was produced for silent reading or for reading aloud in solitude, its written references to orality are by no means manifestations of oral transmission as an alternate tool of communication besides, or to challenge, the use of the normative written language. On the contrary: the social context shows that the *Deliberatio* is also a product of the tradition of a fictive orality (*fiktive Mündlichkeit*) which goes back to the patristic authors.⁶⁰⁰ Creating a fictive audience, Gerard's use of the second person singular illustrates the significance of the fiction of orality in a literary setting—a common feature of both classical and medieval Latin. This is an important aspect of what Gerard imported to Hungary with the Western *Latinitas*.⁶⁰¹

Furthermore, the *Deliberatio* features numerous expressions that resemble classical, patristic and medieval authors. The following is an overview of such expressions and their antecedents.

Book One: *mordacis consciencie* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.20.45: *morderi est melius conscientia*; Saint Augustine: *conscientia mordetur*; Peter Damian: *mordax conscientia*.⁶⁰²

Book One: *cumulatius* – Cicero, *Orator* 17.54: *cumulatius*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰³

Book One: *Pauliani non semper esse Christum sed de Maria dicunt sumpsisse exordium* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.12.19: *sumet exordium*; Quintilian, *Institu-*

⁵⁹⁹ See Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 419); Gilmartin (1975: 99–121); Dickey (2002: 131–3, 137, 322–3, 329, 360).

⁶⁰⁰ See Bäuml (1968: 1–10); Frank (1990: 257–69); Vollrath (1991: 102–11); Frank (1997: 51–74); Parkes (1999: 90–102).

⁶⁰¹ See Nemerkenyi (2001a: 39–48).

⁶⁰² CCCM 49, 7; Saint Augustine, “Sermones de uetere testamento,” CCSL 41, 598; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 96.

⁶⁰³ CCCM 49, 8.

tio oratoria 4.4.9: *sumat exordium*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.4.63: *exordium sumunt*; Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 6.125: *sumpsit exordium*; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.3.5: *sumpsit exordium*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.14.12: *sed Homeri opus ab Achillis ira sumpsit exordium*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁴

Book Two: *ducenda est contemplacio* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.2.5: *contemplatione abducenda mens*.⁶⁰⁵

Book Two: *et sic tropologice aduertamus et confidentissime dicamus* – *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.5.8: *confidentissime resisteret*.⁶⁰⁶

Book Two: *societatis uinculo* – Cicero, *De officiis* 3.6.28: *cuius societatis artissimum uinculum*; Cicero, *De oratore* 3.6.21: *societatis uinculo*; Cicero, *De re publica* 1.32.49: *cum lex sit ciuilis societatis uinculum*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 36.7.11: *communis utilitas, quae societatis maximum uinculum est*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁷

Book Two: *qui in assiduitate utriusque testamenti uersantur* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.3.4: *dicendi assiduitas*; Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 5.2: *adsiduitate contubernii*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.514: *assiduitate*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁸

Book Three: *progressio* – Cicero, *De oratore* 3.54.206: *progressio*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.1.33: *progressio*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.974: *progressio*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁹

Book Four: *licenter* – Cicero, *Orator* 23.77: *licenter*; Horace, *Ars poetica* 265: *licenter*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.8.6: *licenter*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁰

Book Four: *indif(f)erenter* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.2.6: *indifferenter*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.4.21: *indifferenter*; Priscian: *indifferenter*; Cassiodorus: *indifferenter*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹¹

Book Four: *uirtutes contrarias* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.3.49: *contrariis uirtutibus*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹²

Book Four: *explicatores* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.2.6: *explicatorem*; Cicero, *Orator* 30.31: *explicator*; Saint Jerome: *explicator* (quoted by Remigius of Auxerre);

⁶⁰⁴ CCCM 49, 10.

⁶⁰⁵ CCCM 49, 12.

⁶⁰⁶ CCCM 49, 14. See also CCCM 49, 46.

⁶⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 16.

⁶⁰⁸ CCCM 49, 22.

⁶⁰⁹ CCCM 49, 34.

⁶¹⁰ CCCM 49, 39.

⁶¹¹ CCCM 49, 39; Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 55; Cassiodorus, "De orthographia," *GL* 7, 156. See also CCCM 49, 79, 84.

⁶¹² CCCM 49, 44.

Saint Augustine: *explicatorum*.⁶¹³

Book Five: *uitam sempiternam* – Terence, *Andria* 959: *ego deorum uitam propterea sempiternam esse arbitror*; *Legenda maior* of Saint Stephen (on Saint Emeric): *uitam hanc exitialem commutauit sempiternam, supernorum ciuium adiunctus contubernio*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁴

Book Five: *pluraliter, et non... singulariter* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.5.16: *pluralia singulariter et singularia pluraliter*; Priscian: *tam singularaliter quam pluraliter*. The combination is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁵

Book Five: *apertissime* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.39.70: *quod apertissime scriptum est*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.pr.13: *ut Cicero apertissime colligit*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.3.4: *apertissime*; Priscian: *apertissime*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁶

Book Five: *indubitabilem* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.1.55: *indubitabili*; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.20.20: *indubitabilibus*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 6.592: *indubitabilis*; Priscian: *indubitabilem*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁷

Book Five: *O ceca cupiditas* (fol. 63v: Grünwalder: *De ceca cupiditate*) – Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 3.59: *caeca cupido*; Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 4.1153: *cupidine caeci*; Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.2.2: *caeca ac temeraria dominatrix animi cupiditas*; Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 32.91: *o caecam cupiditatem*; Sallust, *De bello Iugurthino* 25.7: *cupidine caecus*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.620: *caeca cupido*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 15.9: *caeca cupiditas*; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 1.87: *cupidine caeci*; Statius, *Thebais* 2.116: *caecumque cupidine*; Alcuin: *caeca et temeraria cupiditas*; Peter Damian: *quia mentis eius oculum furiosa cupiditas caecat*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁸

Book Five: *insolentie uero ac cupiditates* – Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 4.14.2: *cupidorum et insolentium*; Lactantius: *cupiditate insolentia*.⁶¹⁹

Book Five: *in melius mutantur* – Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 34.7.1: *mutationem in meliorem statum*; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 6.60: *in melius mutare locum*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²⁰

Book Five: *conpositorum hurbanitate uerborum* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*

⁶¹³ CCCM 49, 44; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” CSEL 54, 228; Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” PL 131, 139; Saint Augustine, “De Genesi ad litteram,” CSEL 28.1, 155.

⁶¹⁴ CCCM 49, 58; “Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis,” SRH 2, 391.

⁶¹⁵ CCCM 49, 59; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 2, 175.

⁶¹⁶ CCCM 49, 60; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 3, 192.

⁶¹⁷ CCCM 49, 66; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 3, 84.

⁶¹⁸ CCCM 49, 68; Alcuin, “Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus,” PL 101, 921; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, vol. 4.3, Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani (Munich: MGH, 1989), 94.

⁶¹⁹ CCCM 49, 70; Lactantius, “Diuinae institutiones,” CSEL 19, 31.

⁶²⁰ CCCM 49, 75.

8.6.57: *ut tristia dicamus melioribus uerbis urbanitatis gratia*.⁶²¹

Book Five: *mentis aciem* – Cicero, *De finibus* 5.20.57: *mentis acie*; Cicero, *Luculus* 42.129: *mentis acie*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.38.160: *acie mentis*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 2.203: *tota mentis acie*.⁶²²

Book Six: *rationis particeps* – Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.29.60: *rationis sit particeps*; Cicero, *De legibus* 1.7.22: *particeps rationis*; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.13.36: *rationis particeps*; Cicero, *De officiis* 1.4.11: *rationis est particeps*; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.5.10: *rationis participem*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²³

Book Six: *congruit sententia* – Cicero, *Brutus* 38.141: *sententiis congruens*; Cicero, *De legibus* 1.10.30: *sententiis congruens*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²⁴

Book Six: *examussim* – Plautus, *Amphitruo* 843: *examussim*; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.30: *examussim*; Priscian: *examussim*. The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²⁵

Book Six: *fulgorem et portentum* – Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.18.35: *in fulgoribus errare aut fallaciter portenta interpretari*; Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.49.109: *quae fulgoribus quae portentis*.⁶²⁶

Book Six: *in gremio Christi collocati sunt* – Catullus, *Carmina* 66.56: *et Veneris casto collocat in gremio*; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 8.3: *in gremio Iouis collocarat*; Saint Ambrose: *et collocauit eum in gremio suo* (quoting 3 Kings 3.20: *et conlocauit in sinu suo*); Cassiodorus: *in laudum gremio collocatur*.⁶²⁷

Book Six: *Fumifer* – *Ilias Latina* 599: *fumiferae*; Vergil, *Aeneis* 8.255: *fumiferam noctem* (Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 8.255: *fumiferam noctem: non est noctis epitheton, sed quam Cacus fumum euomens faciebat*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.14.8: *fumiferam noctem*); Vergil, *Aeneis* 9.522: *fumiferos*; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 7.193: *fumifer*; Statius, *Thebais* 8.466: *fumiferam*; Cassiodorus: *fumiferas actiones* (quoted by Hrabanus Maurus); Alcuin: *fumiferas*.⁶²⁸

Book Six: *quibus dictis Plato philosophus comprobatur stultissimus dicens humana cogitata non de corde sed de cerebro manare* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.9.19: *alii in corde, alii in cerebro dixerunt animi esse sedem et locum*; Cicero, *Tu-*

⁶²¹ CCCM 49, 77.

⁶²² CCCM 49, 78.

⁶²³ CCCM 49, 82.

⁶²⁴ CCCM 49, 83.

⁶²⁵ CCCM 49, 85; Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," GL 2, 53.

⁶²⁶ CCCM 49, 89.

⁶²⁷ CCCM 49, 94; Saint Ambrose, "De officiis," CCSL 15, 113; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 395.

⁶²⁸ CCCM 49, 94; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 586; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 279; Alcuin, "Epigrammata et aenigmata," PL 101, 812.

sculanae disputationes 1.17.41: *in corde cerebroue*; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.25.60: *nec cordis nec sanguinis nec cerebri nec atomorum*; Saint Ambrose: *cerebro, unde omnis manat usus uiuendi*; Saint Jerome: *non in corde, sed, iuxta Platonem, in cerebro suspicantur*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 11.1.21: *cerebro, unde omnia manant* (quoted by Hrabanus Maurus); Bede the Venerable: *sed in quantum homini possibile est, omnes suos cogitatus, sermones, et actus, qui uelut de cerebro cordis sensim prodeunt*.⁶²⁹

Book Six: *scintillas ardentes* – Vergil, *Aeneis* 12.101–2: *totoque ardentis ab ore/scintillae absistunt* (Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 12.95: *totoque ardentis ab ore scintillae absistunt*); Bede the Venerable: *Chrysolitus lapis quasi aurum fulget, scintillas habens ardentes* (quoted by Hrabanus Maurus); Alcuin: *quasi scintillam cuiusdam ardentis flammae*.⁶³⁰

Book Six: *philosophandum est* – Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 16.5: *philosophandum est*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 5.10.70: *non est philosophandum*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5.15.9: *philosophandum est paucis*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.1.16: *philosophandum est*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.441: *an philosophandum sit*; Lactantius: *quod cum diceret philosophandum non esse*; Saint Jerome: *Scilicet nunc mihi philosophandum est*; Saint Augustine: *in quibus philosophandum est*.⁶³¹

Book Six: *aliquantisper* – Plautus, *Pseudolus* 571: *aliquantisper*; Terence, *Adelphoe* 639: *aliquantisper*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 2.30.5: *aliquantisper*; *Legenda minor* of Saint Stephen: *aliquantisper*. The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶³²

Book Six: *honestissime concertandum* – Cicero, *De finibus* 2.21.68: *certamen honestum*; Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 9.32: *honesta certatio*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.17.16: *honesti certaminis*.⁶³³

Book Seven: *contra mundi opificem* – Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.8.18: *non opificem aedificatoremque mundi Platonis de Timaeo deum*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.79: *ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo*; Apuleius, *Apologia* 64: *mundi sui opifex*; Simon of Kéza: *Deus opifex Creator*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶³⁴

Book Seven: *multiformiter* – Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 9.5.7: *multiformiter*; Priscian:

⁶²⁹ CCCM 49, 96; Saint Ambrose, “Exameron,” CSEL 32.1, 247; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Daniele libri III,” CCSL 75A, 791; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” PL 111, 143; Bede the Venerable, “In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio,” PL 91, 505.

⁶³⁰ CCCM 49, 100; Bede the Venerable, “Explanatio Apocalypseos,” CCSL 121A, 543; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” PL 111, 468; Alcuin, “Epistolae,” PL 100, 318. See also CCCM 49, 101, 102.

⁶³¹ CCCM 49, 102; Lactantius, “Diuinae institutiones,” CSEL 19, 226; Saint Jerome, “Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum,” PL 23, 388; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” CCSL 48, 660.

⁶³² CCCM 49, 106; “Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis,” SRH 2, 397.

⁶³³ CCCM 49, 107.

⁶³⁴ CCCM 49, 119; Simon of Kéza, “Gesta Hungarorum,” SRH 1, 142.

multiformiter; John Scottus Eriugena: *multiformiter*. The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶³⁵

Book Seven: *pinguissimi sulci* – Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 6.382: *pinguis Bebrycio disces-sit uomere sulcus*.⁶³⁶

Book Seven: *non accomodat diuinum sensum* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.8.25: *et ad animi quendam intimum sensum accommodetur*; Cicero, *De oratore* 1.12.54: *hominum sensibus ac mentibus accommodata*; Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae* 23.79: *sensus accommodator*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.3.28: *sed ipsis sensibus cum gratiam tum etiam uires accommodat*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 11.3.89: *ut sit gestus ad sensus magis quam ad uerba accommodatus*; Saint Augustine: *piorum sensibus accommodatius Cicero in Caesaris laude locutus est*; Bede the Venerable: *et nostris actibus accommodum audire sensum delectat*.⁶³⁷

Book Seven: *mediocres ingenio* – Cicero, *Brutus* 67.237: *mediocri ingenio*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.41.175: *mediocris ingenii*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 12.11.24: *mediocri uir ingenio*; Priscian: *ingenii mediocritate*; Saint Augustine: *non mediocri ingenio*.⁶³⁸

Book Eight: *debilitata et confracta* – Cicero, *De oratore* 1.26.121: *me fractum et debilitatum*; 4 Esdras 2.21: *confractum et debilem*; Saint Ambrose: *fracta debilitatibus*; Saint Jerome: *debilitati et fracti totius corporis*; Arnobius: *fractas debilitatasque uirtutes*.⁶³⁹

Book Eight: *tumiditates et inflaciones* – Vergil, *Aeneis* 3.357: *uela uocant tumido-que inflatur carbasus Austro*; Horace, *Sermones* 2.5.98: *crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem*; Saint Jerome: *de Hermagorae tumiditate*; Saint Augustine: *in corde uestro tumido et inflato*; Peter Damian: *tumor inflauerat*.⁶⁴⁰

Book Eight: *frangunturque superba* – Propertius, *Elegiae* 3.13.60: *frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis*; Saint Jerome: *frangam superbiam*; Saint Augustine: *frangantur superbi rami, humilis inseratur oleaster*; Remigius of Auxerre: *dum frangitur superbia*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁵ CCCM 49, 121; Priscian, “De metris fabularum Terentii,” *GL* 3, 421; John Scottus Eriugena, “De diuisione naturae,” *PL* 122, 659.

⁶³⁶ CCCM 49, 123.

⁶³⁷ CCCM 49, 132; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCL* 47, 254; Bede the Venerable, “In Ezram et Neemiam libri III,” *CCL* 119A, 376.

⁶³⁸ CCCM 49, 132; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 194; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCL* 47, 310.

⁶³⁹ CCCM 49, 142; Saint Ambrose, “Expositio Psalmi CXVIII,” *CSEL* 62, 413; Saint Jerome, “Contra Rufinum,” *CCL* 79, 15; Arnobius, “Adversus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 282.

⁶⁴⁰ CCCM 49, 142; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 54, 464; Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” *PL* 38, 981; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.1, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1983), 198.

⁶⁴¹ CCCM 49, 147; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 55, 329; Saint Augustine, “In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,” *CCL* 36, 168; Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *PL* 131, 302.

Book Eight: *lumine mentis* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.5.10: *lumine mentis*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.200: *in lumina mentis*.⁶⁴²

Book Eight: *mentis oculorum acumine* – Cicero, *De oratore* 3.41.163: *mentis oculi*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.3.62: *oculis mentis*; Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate* 1.6: *mentis oculis*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁴³

Book Eight: *simplex multiplicitas* – Rhetorica ad Herennium 4.44.56: *rhetoricae res simplex multiplici ratione tractatur*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 122.17: *Simplex recti cura est, multiplex pravi*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.4.5: *Sunt autem propositiones et simplices et duplices uel multiplices*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.4.3: *utrum simplex an multiplex*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.975: *alios simplices, alios multiplices*; Zeno of Verona: *simplex quidem uocabulum, sed multiplex pronuntiatio*; Saint Augustine: *de illa simplici multiplicitate uel multiplici simplicitate*; John Scottus Eriugena: *simplex multiplicatio*.⁶⁴⁴

Book Eight: *medullitus* – Plautus, *Mostellaria* 243: *medullitus*; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7.2: *medullitus*; Zeno of Verona: *medullitus*; Hartvic: *Priscianus auctor artis grammaticae, medullitus mihi notus olim, longe digressus, faciem suam quasi caligine quadam circumfluam mihi decrepito iam facit obscurissima* (sic). The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁴⁵

Book Eight: *sempiterno motu* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.27.66: *motu sempiterno* (quoted by Saint Augustine); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 13.1.1: *sempiterno motu*; Hrabanus Maurus: *in sempiterno motu*.⁶⁴⁶

As in the case of King Stephen's *Admonitions*, it is important to differentiate between direct and indirect quotations and between quotations and common expressions.

⁶⁴² CCCM 49, 149.

⁶⁴³ CCCM 49, 155.

⁶⁴⁴ CCCM 49, 163; Zeno of Verona, "Tractatus," CCSL 22, 134; Saint Augustine, "De Trinitate libri XV," CCSL 50, 234; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," PL 122, 632.

⁶⁴⁵ CCCM 49, 167; Zeno of Verona, "Tractatus," CCSL 22, 12; Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," SRH 2, 401.

⁶⁴⁶ CCCM 49, 175; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 48, 840; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 259.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Monastic School

The Benedictine monasteries in recently Christianized countries in general, and in Hungary in particular, did not necessarily show any specific cultural orientation in terms of the classical holdings of their libraries. Rather, they showed an overwhelming preference for liturgy. This preference is apparent in the following sources.

First there is the false foundation charter of the Benedictine monastery of Pécsvárad. This was said to have been issued by King Stephen in 1015 but in fact dates from the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the list of thirty-four books in the charter is authentic, and it contains the Bible, various liturgical books, and a collection of homilies that belonged to the monastery: *Libris uero, quorum precipua auctoritas fulget in ecclesia Dei: Bibliotheca in duobus uoluminibus, Nocturnalibus IIIor, Antiphonariis V, Lectionariis II cum Ewangelio, Missalibus VI, Psalteriis IIIor, Gradualibus V, Regulis II, Baptisteriis II, Quadraginta omeliarum uolumine uno.*⁶⁴⁷

The foundation charter of the Benedictine monastery of Tihany, issued by King Andrew I in 1055, has an addition on its verso that dates from around 1090 and lists five liturgical books in the possession of the monastery: *duo missales, unum nocturnale, duo gradalia.*⁶⁴⁸

The charter recording the goods of the monastery of Bakonybél in 1086 also features an additional reference to books from the early twelfth century – three manuscripts of the Gospel and eighty-four *libri: tres textus Euangelii, unus aureus, duo argentei... Libri quidem simul sunt LXXXIIIor*. The three precious copies of the Gospel were listed separately because of their expensive binding material. Although a total of eighty-seven books would constitute a significant collection, the list does not specify the remaining eighty-four manuscripts besides the three copies of the Gospel.⁶⁴⁹

The Benedictine monastery of Somogyvár was founded by King Ladislas in 1091. Based on King Ladislas' correspondence with Abbot Odilo of Saint Gilles, it is clear that Somogyvár had considerable connections with the monastery of Saint Gilles in southern France. This could likely have affected Somogyvár's book provision as well, but there is no information on the books available there at the time.⁶⁵⁰

These individual cases show overall that Benedictine monasteries in eleventh-

⁶⁴⁷ DHA 1, 77.

⁶⁴⁸ DHA 1, 152. See also Komjáthy (1955: 27–47).

⁶⁴⁹ DHA 1, 254. See also Váczy (1930: 314–31).

⁶⁵⁰ DHA 1, 266–70. See also Baumgarten (1906: 389–411).

century Hungary were mainly equipped with liturgical manuscripts, except perhaps for the Bakonybél monastery where the eighty-four volumes are not specified in the charter.

The oldest and most important of all the monasteries in medieval Hungary is the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma, founded by Duke Géza in 996 and dedicated to Saint Martin. Pannonhalma's original foundation charter was issued by King Stephen in 1002, and its interpolated version survives from the twelfth century, providing Pannonhalma with the same privileges as those of Monte Cassino. According to a letter from King Ladislas to Abbot Oderisius of Monte Cassino (*Oderisio religiosissimo abbati Sancti Benedicti*), dating from 1091 and surviving in a twelfth-century copy in the archive of Monte Cassino, there was a royal attempt to strengthen the relationship of Monte Cassino and Hungary.⁶⁵¹

Approximately between 1093 and 1095, King Ladislas issued a charter in favor of the monastery of Pannonhalma: it includes the inventory of the properties of the abbey. The original charter has survived and is kept in the Benedictine Abbey Archive in Pannonhalma: Arch. Montis Pann., n. 4. (Sign. Ant.: Capsa II. A.), Photo: Df. 208288. A late medieval note appears on the verso of the charter: *Sancti Ladislai regis super rebus, prediis et bonis huius monasterii Sancti Martini*. Further copies of the charter survive in four medieval transcriptions: two of them were issued by King Andrew II in 1213 and 1223, one by King Béla IV in 1236, and one more in the cartulary of the Pannonhalma monastery, called *Liber ruber*, compiled around 1240. Through its modern critical editions, the relevant parts of the charter made their way into Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* and Munk Olsen's catalog of the Latin classics in medieval libraries.⁶⁵²

The charter of King Ladislas starts with a Leonine hexameter: *Diuinum firmet nomen, quod scripsimus, amen*.⁶⁵³ Among the properties of the monastery, the charter lists a total of eighty books as pieces of special value: *VI textus Euangeliorum cum totidem plumaciis... VI missales, I Bibliotheca, III nocturnales, III antiphonalia, III gradalia, II sequentiales cum trophis, III baptisteria, III collectarii, III ymnarii, II Regule, unus super Regulam, II leccionarii, I breuiarius, III omelie, II libri sermonum, I collationes... II passionales, Liber Sententiarum, Actus Apostolorum, liber Prosperi De actiua et contemplatiua uita, et Ysidorum, Ordo, Amalarius, Pastoralis, Dialogorum, Epistole Pauli, II Moralia Iob, Scintillarium, Interrogatio Petri, Inuectiue Ciceronis, Lucanus, II Donati, Genesis Seduli, III Catones, Paschasius, Vita Sancti Martini,*

⁶⁵¹ *DHA* 1, 272.

⁶⁵² László Erdélyi, "Oklevéltár" (Charters), in *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), 591; *DHA* 1, 295–301. See Érszegi (1985: 84); Veszprémy (1996a: 118–20). See also Gustav Becker, ed., *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen, 1885), 171–2; Munk Olsen (1987: 179–80).

⁶⁵³ See Horváth (1954: 83–4); Horváth (1956: 1–19). See also Rác (1927: 5); Erdmann (1941: 15–28).

Vita Patrum, Psalterium gallicanum, ebraycum, grecum, Sermo Sancti Augustini. All of these eighty books are lost today.⁶⁵⁴

According to learned estimations, the eighty volumes could have contained around two hundred or two hundred and fifty works. The channels of book provision may have included royal donations, imports by missionaries, and copies made from other manuscripts borrowed from Western or local monastic and cathedral libraries.⁶⁵⁵ Indeed, by the end of the eleventh century some of the books at Pannonhalma could well have been products of the copying activity of the local *scriptorium*. Although Bishop Maurus of Pécs spent his formative years in the monastery of Pannonhalma as a *puer scolasticus* and therefore surely witnessed the activity of its *scriptorium*, he hardly reports on his experience at Pannonhalma later in his legend of Saints Zoerard and Benedict (*Ego quidem Maurus nunc Deo miserante episcopus, tunc autem puer scolasticus uirum bonum uidi... Ad nostrum ergo monasterium in honorem beati pontificis Martini consecratum*).⁶⁵⁶

Herman of Tournai, the chronicler of the monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai, characterized the ideal *scriptorium* at the end of the eleventh century in the following way: *Scriptorium quippe copiam a Domino sibi datam exultabat, ita ut, si claustrum ingredereris, uideres plerumque duodecim monachos iuuenes in cathedris sedentes et super tabulas diligenter et artificiose compositas cum silentio scribentes. Unde omnes libros Ieronimi in explanatione prophetarum omnesque libros beati Gregorii et quoscumque inuenire potuit beati Augustini, Ambrosii, Hysidori, Bede, necnon etiam domni Anselmi, tunc temporis abbatis Beccensis, postea uero Canthuariensis archiepiscopi, tam diligenter fecit describi, ut uix in aliqua uicinarum ecclesiarum similis inueniretur bibliotheca, omnesque pro corrigendis libris suis de nostra ecclesia peterent exemplaria*. Saint Martin of Tournai surely had higher standards than Saint Martin of Pannonhalma, but Herman's description of an ideal *scriptorium* gives an overall impression of how the system of copying books could have worked at Pannonhalma in the late eleventh century.⁶⁵⁷

While reconstructing a medieval library, on the other hand, one must keep in mind the fact that establishing a library necessitated the gathering of old books and the acquisition of new ones.⁶⁵⁸ Although the Pannonhalma book list as it survives in the charter does not differentiate according to genres, it may well have been compiled on the basis of an earlier library catalog or at least another book list. This can be inferred from a mistake of the scribe who copied the charter: while all items are in the nomina-

⁶⁵⁴ Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1994: 12–5).

⁶⁵⁵ Csapodi (1969: 308–12); Csapodi (1979: 165–73).

⁶⁵⁶ Maurus, “Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti,” *SRH* 2, 357–8.

⁶⁵⁷ Herman of Tournai, “Liber de restauratione monasterii sancti Martini Tornacensis,” *MGH: Scriptores* 14, 313.

⁶⁵⁸ See Lehmann (1920: 44–105); Babcock (1993: 35–49); Sharpe (1995: 399–408).

tive, the item *Ysidorum* is in the accusative, and therefore all the items could have been enumerated in the accusative in the book list or library catalog that served as the basis of the list in the charter.⁶⁵⁹ By the time of inserting the earlier book list or library catalog into the general inventory in the royal charter, changes might have occurred in the collection in terms of new acquisitions and relocations. Since the Pannonhalma charter is a complete inventory of the goods of the monastery, however, it probably contains all the books available there at the time of its composition. Although it is important to stress that this book list is not a proper library catalog, not following the Carolingian model of systematization, and referring to the books as precious objects instead of giving a ‘bibliographical’ description, it also reflects the physical location of the books for liturgical, private and school reading as a *Standortsregister*. In this regard, this inventory mirrors the overall purpose of the charter recording the goods of the monastery.⁶⁶⁰

In terms of the storage of the books, the library of Pannonhalma was a physically divided collection and therefore the term ‘library’ should always be used with caution, keeping in mind the fact that it is nothing more than a shorthand expression for the holding of books regardless of their actual location. While the book list proper starts in line nineteen of the Pannonhalma charter, the entry *VI textus Euangeliorum cum totidem plumaciis*, figures in line nine along with twenty-four chalices among the treasures of the monastery. In a well-equipped medieval monastery, bookchests were available in the church, the sacristy, the refectory (since *Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet*), the hospital and the school, corresponding to the use of books in the divine office, private devotion and education. The various books were produced in the same *scriptorium*, and while they were used in different places, they finally ended up in the same library after being replaced. Consequently, the old books were treated in a more or less similar way in the library catalogs.⁶⁶¹ This may hold true for a major monastic center of learning, but probably not for Pannonhalma, where regional traffic and circulation of books between monasteries and cathedrals could supplement the activity of local *scriptoria* at an early stage. One should note, however, that the book list was compiled a century after the foundation of the monastery.⁶⁶²

Among others, two circumstances present particularly major obstacles to the interpretation of medieval library catalogs: the apparent inconsistency of the titles of the books and the lack of information concerning the places where they were stored.⁶⁶³ In

⁶⁵⁹ See Veszprémy (1996b: 327–32); Veszprémy (1997: 83–99). See also Bánhegyi (1996: 15–23); Bánhegyi (2001: 76); Vizkelety (2001a: 110).

⁶⁶⁰ See Gottlieb (1890: 299–329); Ghellinck (1938: 36–55); McKitterick (1989: 178–96); Milde (1996: 269–78).

⁶⁶¹ “Benedicti regula,” *CSEL* 75, 97. See Lehmann (1957: 2–7); Lentini (1982: 697–700); Mostert (1989: 34); Palazzo (1997: 93–118).

⁶⁶² See Cencetti (1977: 73–97).

⁶⁶³ See Lehmann (1962: 1–93); Derolez (1979); Hlaváček (1979: 186–91); Savino (1990: 789–803); Sharpe (1992: 289–90); Munk Olsen (1997: 511–27); Sharpe (2003: 82–98).

identifying the books according to the titles in the book list, an important factor is that the role of the classical authors in the curriculum influenced the codicological context of the occurrence of the Latin classics. An item mentioned in a book list may not be the only content of a miscellaneous codex. For instance, the eleventh-century library catalog of the monastery of Kremsmünster records Terence, Avianus, Cato and Arator as the contents of the same volume. Another miscellaneous textbook of a monastic school in the Rhine region in the second half of the eleventh century featured various texts related to the liberal arts, including selections from Priscian and Alcuin with grammatical relevance.⁶⁶⁴ Miscellaneous codices were not compiled at random. Even if codices contained classical and patristic texts together, as they frequently did, the manuscripts had an internal coherence, which usually depended on the purpose for which the book was produced. This coherence influenced medieval differentiation between various genres, and thus influenced library classification too.⁶⁶⁵ This is partly the context of the appearance of the liturgical, patristic and classical texts in the Pannonhalma book list. For instance, as Albert Siegmund argued, it is possible that the entry *Psalterium gallicanum, ebraycum, grecum* at the end of the list does not refer to three different codices but to a single codex, a *psalterium triplex* containing these three variants of the Psalter.⁶⁶⁶

While the majority of its entries refer to liturgical and patristic texts, the Pannonhalma book list also contains the following classical items: *Inuectiue Ciceronis*, *Lucanus*, *II Donati...* *III Catones*. Provided that every item refers to one volume in the list, these classical entries (with two volumes of Donatus and three volumes of Cato) constitute almost one tenth of the complete collection. It has already been reasonably proposed that the record of these classical texts relates to their role in teaching and learning Latin in the monastic school and, since these texts served educational purposes, the volumes were probably located where they were actually used, that is, in the school. It is questionable, however, whether they were simply used for elementary Latin education. In order to demonstrate that these texts cannot be dismissed as being merely material for elementary education, since they were in fact textbooks aimed at students already with an advanced command of Latin, it is indispensable to establish what kinds of role they played in better-documented territories. The scarcity of relevant material from medieval Hungary suggests that it is important to examine the overall medieval role of these Latin classics: the significance of their presence in the book list can only be understood in a far broader literary context.⁶⁶⁷

The classical texts appearing in the Pannonhalma book list had in fact been part of

⁶⁶⁴ Herbert Paulhart, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 5, *Oberösterreich* (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Böhlau, 1971), 34; Reiche (1976: 215, 221, 242). See also Reynolds (1996: 7–16).

⁶⁶⁵ See Shailor (1996: 153–67).

⁶⁶⁶ Siegmund (1949: 24). See also Török (1989: 63–76).

⁶⁶⁷ See Csapodi (1957: 14–24). See also Ising (1970: 21–31).

the classical canon. This canon was transmitted to the Middle Ages through the authority of patristic authors. Saint Jerome, for instance, mentions Cicero, Lucan and Donatus, among many other classical Latin authors that constituted a basic part of liberal education, especially grammar and rhetoric: *Puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium ac Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius, et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati, aequae in Vergilium, et aliorum in alios, Plautum uidelicet, Lucretium, Flaccum, Persium atque Lucanum*. Reconstructing the significance of the Latin classics in the Pannonhalma collection as a corpus of basic but not altogether elementary schoolbooks in the Middle Ages requires the acknowledgment of their importance in the patristic legacy.⁶⁶⁸

Medieval library catalogs, including the ones from the eleventh century, identify the entry *Inuectiue Ciceronis* with Cicero's Catilinarian orations. This identification stems from both the classical grammatical and the patristic apologetic legacy. Priscian's grammar refers to Cicero's *In Catilinam* as *inuectiuae* on numerous occasions, for instance: *Cicero primo inuectiuarum: quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra* (Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.1.1).⁶⁶⁹ After a paraphrased quotation from Cicero's *In Catilinam* 1.1.1, Saint Augustine also refers to the Catilinarian orations as *inuectiuae*: *Bene facis, indicare nobis, ne forte non agnosceremus, de inuectiuis Ciceronis te ista sumpsisse atque uertisse: sed non timemus Iulianum, cum uidemus factum esse Tullianum... Cicero inuectus in patriae parricidam, eam defendebat ciuitatem quam rex eius Romulus, congregatis undecumque peccatoribus condidit*.⁶⁷⁰ Late eleventh-century rhetorical compositions use the adverb *inuectiue* to describe Cicero's style in the Catilinarian orations: *Neque enim M. Tullius magis inuectiue in Catilinam exarsit*.⁶⁷¹ One must note here, however, that another medieval set of identifications drew on the classical tradition of the Roman prose invectives: the invectives against Cicero attributed to Sallust and the invectives against Sallust attributed to Cicero. This tradition influenced Fromund of Tegernsee, for instance, who used the term *inuectiuae* to describe the invectives against Sallust attributed to Cicero: *pro libroque inuectiuarum Tullii Ciceronis in Sallustium*. Yet another set of identifications used *inuectiuae* to refer to Cicero's *Philippicae*. A representative of this tradition is Peter of Blois: *Cum Antonius linguam Ciceronis absunderet, quae in ipsum dictauerat inuectiuas, dicitur ei Cicero respondisse: "Nil agis, Antoni, scripta diserta manent."*⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁸ Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 15. See also Beddie (1930: 3–20).

⁶⁶⁹ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 250, 379, 410, 425, 503, 583, 593, *GL* 3, 32, 44, 61, 82, 84, 87, 89, 96, 109, 157, 207, 233–4, 237, 246, 249–50, 274, 275, 281, 288, 290, 295, 297, 310, 315–6, 318, 320, 330, 333, 363, 370. See also Priscian, "Praeexercitamina," *GL* 3, 437.

⁶⁷⁰ Saint Augustine, "Contra secundam Iuliani responsionem," *PL* 45, 1059.

⁶⁷¹ "Die Regensburger rhetorischen Briefe," *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* 5, 346. See Van Engen (1997: 97–132).

⁶⁷² Fromund of Tegernsee, "Epistolae," *PL* 141, 1290; Peter of Blois, "Epistolae," *PL* 207, 238. See Adamik (1977–1978: 89–100); Koster (1980: 1, 113–33, 177–200). See also Munk Olsen (1982a: 99–350); Rouse and Reeve (1983: 64–5).

Another important aspect of the contribution of the patristic legacy to Cicero's medieval reputation as a master of eloquence is the lasting echo of the judgment in Saint Jerome's famous vision: *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*. (Jerome's possible classical antecedent is Seneca, *Controversiae* 7.2.12: *ille Ciceronianus cliens*.) From Rufinus of Aquileia, the image of the Ciceronian Jerome often appears in numerous patristic and medieval authors, including Atto of Vercelli, Peter Damian, Ivo of Chartres and Abelard.⁶⁷³ Another popular statement of Saint Jerome's, although apparently negative, also canonized ancient rhetoric: *Daemonum cibus est carmina poetarum, saecularis sapientia, rhetoricorum pompa uerborum*. It was quoted by Carolingian and medieval authors such as Hrabanus Maurus and Abelard.⁶⁷⁴ One of the most important mediators of this patristic tradition was Isidore of Seville, who declared *de libris gentilium* that *Cauendi sunt igitur tales libri, et propter amorem sanctarum scripturarum uitandi*. Nonetheless, Isidore read Cicero as carefully as Jerome did.⁶⁷⁵

This patristic and medieval ambivalence notwithstanding, Cicero's Catilinarian orations infiltrated many segments of medieval literacy. They were also present in Charlemagne's court library, as the entry of its catalog attests: *In Catelina Ciceronis libri VIII*.⁶⁷⁶ In 989, Gerbert of Aurillac wrote a letter on behalf of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims to the monks of Saint Peter in Ghent, demanding that they return the books they borrowed from the Reims library. Gerbert clearly alludes to Cicero's *In Catilinam* 1.1.1 in this letter: *Quousque abutemini pacientia, fidissimi quondam, ut putabatur, amici? Caritatem uerbis praetenditis, rapinam exercere parati. Cur sanctissimam societatem abrumpitis? Quosdam codices nobis uestra sponte obtulistis, sed nostri iuris nostrique ecclesie contra diuinas humanasque leges retinetis. Aut librorum restitutione cum adiuncto caritas redintegrabitur, aut depositum male retentum bene merito supplicio condonabitur*. He does so in another letter to Emperor Otto III in 997: *Mirabor abusos impune patientia uestra, qui uirtutem putant ignauiam, cum sint, quod omnes nouimus et dicere non est necesse*.⁶⁷⁷ The reception of Cicero by Notker Labeo, the monk of Saint Gall, was influenced by the works of Boethius.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷³ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 190; Rufinus of Aquileia, "Apologia contra Hieronymum," *CCSL* 20, 88; Atto of Vercelli, "De pressuris ecclesiasticis," *PL* 134, 75; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 328; Ivo of Chartres, "Decretum," *PL* 161, 303; Abelard, "Theologia Christiana," *CCCM* 12, 188.

⁶⁷⁴ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 122; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 516; Abelard, "Theologia Christiana," *CCCM* 12, 187. See Pease (1919: 150–67); Foligno (1929: 33); Hagendahl (1958: 89–328); Antin (1963: 350–77); Fiske (1965: 119–38); Gawlick (1966: 57–62); Hagendahl (1974: 216–27); Adkin (1992: 408–20); Clarke (1996: 148–57); Harvey (1998: 35–56).

⁶⁷⁵ Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," *CCSL* 111, 236. See Lehmann (1960c: 625–6).

⁶⁷⁶ See Traube (1892: 558–68); Bischoff (1966a: 233–54); Moorhead (1985: 109–20).

⁶⁷⁷ Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 135, 260. See Haye (1999: 17–41).

⁶⁷⁸ See Sonderegger (1980: 243–66).

Besides the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, commonly attributed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, and Cicero's *De inuentione*, which both served as subjects of commentaries by students of classical rhetoric in the eleventh century, the Catilinarian orations provided models for the study of prose styles and *cursus* at the same time.⁶⁷⁹ The *Accessus ad auctores* provided a separate chapter on Cicero: *Accessus Tullii*.⁶⁸⁰ Abelard was also influenced by the Ciceronian tradition in many regards.⁶⁸¹ In the middle of the twelfth century, Abbot Wibald of Stablo did not analyze Cicero in a scholarly fashion but recommended instead the reading of Cicero's works as a sort of dessert: *Fercula Ciceronis nec inter praecipua, nec in prima mensa iam habemus, sed si quando meliori cibo satiatis aliquid libet, sic ea sumimus, sicut secundis mensis apponi solet bellaria*.⁶⁸² As the Latin classics became more popular during the renaissance of the twelfth century, the Catilinarian orations also enjoyed wide attention.⁶⁸³ Finally, they were also translated into vernacular in Tuscany in the thirteenth century.⁶⁸⁴

The entry *Lucanus* in the book list of the Pannonhalma charter refers to Lucan's *Bellum ciuile*. (Lucan himself calls his epic *Pharsalia* – *Bellum ciuile* 9.985–6: *Pharsalia nostra/ uiuet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo*.) His minor works, such as the *Orpheus*, can be excluded on the basis that they only appear in the form of quotations in late antique and medieval grammatical works.⁶⁸⁵ Lucan's popularity dates from classical antiquity. His work is already praised by Martial, *Epigrammata* 14.194.1–2: *Sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam:/ sed qui me uendit bybliopola putat*. Comparing Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* to Vergil's *Aeneis*, Quintilian suggested that Lucan's epic was to be imitated by rhetoricians rather than poets (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.90): *Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus*. Quintilian's judgment was adapted by Saint Jerome, who also called Lucan *ardens poeta*.⁶⁸⁶ Servius went further, comparing Lucan's epic to historical writings (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 12.359: *ut in historiis legimus, item in Lucano*) and even suggesting that Lucan could not be classified as a poet because he seemed to have composed a history and not a poem (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.382): *Lucanus namque ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia uidetur historiam composuisse, non poema*. Servius' latter statement is later quoted verbatim in the passage on poets in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* 8.7.10 (Isidore's passage in turn is

⁶⁷⁹ See De Marco (1962: 320–1); Dickey (1968: 1–41).

⁶⁸⁰ R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 38.

⁶⁸¹ See D'Anna (1969: 333–419).

⁶⁸² Wibald of Stablo, "Epistolae," *PL* 189, 1299. See Pascal (1955: 111–7).

⁶⁸³ See Hunt (1971: 51–5).

⁶⁸⁴ See Papini (1981: 3–20).

⁶⁸⁵ See Postgate (1905: 257–60); Esposito (1977: 85–92).

⁶⁸⁶ Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," *CCSL* 73A, 632. See Bolaffi (1958: 45); Bonner (1966: 257–89). See also Lehmann (1959: 1–28).

quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). The same statement is also paraphrased in Jordanes (*Lucano plus storico quam poeta testante*).⁶⁸⁷

However, the parallel between the two major epic poets of ancient Rome, Vergil and Lucan, was influential. This parallel is apparent from the similarity of the first hexameter lines of their epitaphs in the grammatical tradition (Probus, *Vita Vergilii: Cuius in sepulcro quod est uia Puteolana, hoc legitur epigramma: Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc/ Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces*, Donatus, *Vita Vergilii* 36: *intra lapidem secundum, in quo distichon fecit tale: "Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc/ Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces"*, and *Epitaphion Lucani* 1: *Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, proelia dixi*.) Referring to Eusebius, Aldhelm reports in the seventh century that the epitaphs were composed by Vergil and Lucan themselves and that Lucan deliberately imitated Vergil (*Chronica Eusebii Vergilium imminente metu mortis cecinisse tradunt et epigramma, quod epitafium uocatur, ad suprema exequiarum funera composuisse dicendo: "Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc" ... Quem Lucanus aemulans his uerbis imitabatur dicens: "Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, proelia dixi"*).⁶⁸⁸

Lucan's reputation was also transmitted to the Middle Ages through the authority of patristic texts. The popular introduction to his epic (*Bellum ciuile* 1.1–3: *Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem/ in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra*) is quoted and later paraphrased in Saint Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* (*Propter unum Caesarem socerum et unum genus eius Pompeium iam mortua Caesaris filia, uxore Pompei, quanto et quam iusto doloris instinctu Lucanus exclamat: Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ Iusque datum sceleri canimus; et hoc plus quam ciuile bellum fuit*). Although Augustine supposedly preferred Vergil to Lucan, he contributed a great deal to Lucan's medieval reputation.⁶⁸⁹ So did Isidore of Seville, who, besides adapting Servius' view about Lucan being more of a historian than a poet, condemned the reading of the stories of pagan poets in a way that was in effect a promotion and not a prohibition: *Ideo prohibetur christianus figmenta legere poetarum quia per oblectamenta inanium fabularum mentem excitant ad incentiua libidinum*. Isidore's ambivalent approach is already apparent in his vocabulary: the parallels of his expression *figmenta poetarum* occur in Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 6.719: *figmenta poetica*) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in*

⁶⁸⁷ Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 419; Jordanes, "Getica," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 5.1, 65. See Thomson (1928: 24–7); Sanford (1931: 233–57); Blatt (1959: 47–67); Due (1962: 75, 77); Ahl (1968: 124–61); Vinchesi (1979: 2–40); Vinchesi (1981: 62–72, 66–75); Dietz (1995: 61–97).

⁶⁸⁸ Carolus Hosius, ed., *M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili libri decem* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892), 338; Colinus Hardie, ed., *Vitae Vergilianae antiquae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 10, 23; Aldhelm, "De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 15, 88–9. See Norden (1906: 166–77); Pease (1940: 180–2).

⁶⁸⁹ Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 74, 76. See Hosius (1907: 17); Phillips (1991: 158, 162).

Somnium Scipionis 2.10.11: *sub poetici nube figmenti*).⁶⁹⁰ Later, the biography of Abbot Odo of Cluny shows just how effective this ambivalent Isidorian approach was in promoting the reading of pagan poets by prohibition. The biography reports that after he had read Priscian, Odo wanted to read Vergil's poems but a vision prevented him from doing that. He saw himself in a vessel, beautiful on the outside but full of snakes on the inside: Odo understood that the snakes denoted the doctrine of the poets, and the vessel the book of Vergil (*His praeterea diebus nauta noster peritissimus, qui nos suo ductu docuit transmeare gurgites istius mundi, immensum Prisciani transiit transnando pelagus. Nam Virgilii cum uoluisset legere carmina, ostentum fuit ei per uisum uas quoddam, deforis quidem pulcherrimum, intus uero plenum serpentibus, a quibus se subito circumuallari conspicit, nec tamen morderi, et euigilans serpentes doctrinam poetarum, uas in quo latitabant, librum Virgilii; uiam uero per quam incedebat ualde sitiens, Christum intellexit*).⁶⁹¹

In a didactic work about poetic meters, Aldhelm explicitly counts Lucan's epic among the heroic hexameters of Homer and Vergil: *Qui sunt exametri heroici? Qui bella et heroum res gestas complectuntur, ueluti est Ilias Homeri uel Aeneidos Vergilii uel libri Lucani proelia Caesaris et Pompei decantantis*.⁶⁹² Bede the Venerable also quotes Lucan in his *De arte metrica: et Lucanus, poeta ueteranus, Caesaris et Pompei proelia descriptus, ita incipit: Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ Iusque datum sceleri canimus populumque potentem/ in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra*.⁶⁹³ As Alcuin's poetic description of the York cathedral library attests, Lucan often figured among the Latin textbooks along with Vergil and Statius (*Quod Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et Auctor:/ Artis grammaticae uel quid scripsere magistri*), and the manuscript tradition of his epic indeed flourished in the Carolingian period.⁶⁹⁴ The earliest manuscripts of a set of learned commentaries on Lucan, the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*, also date from the Carolingian period. Later on, Bishop Arnulf of Orléans also produced a *Glosule super Lucanum*.⁶⁹⁵

The description of the teaching activity of Gerbert of Aurillac by Richer of Reims also reflects Servius' approach to Lucan the historian: Richer calls Vergil, Statius and

⁶⁹⁰ Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," *CCSL* 111, 236. See Gompf (1973: 53–62).

⁶⁹¹ "Vita sancti Odonis," *PL* 133, 49. See Schneider (1979: 6).

⁶⁹² Aldhelm, "De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 15, 83.

⁶⁹³ Bede the Venerable, "De arte metrica," *CCSL* 123A, 115. See Jacob (1932: 3); Davis (1933: 179–95); Laistner (1957: 93–116).

⁶⁹⁴ Alcuin, "Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis," *PL* 101, 843–4. See Beck (1900); Gotoff (1966: 319–21); Tarrant (1983: 215–8).

⁶⁹⁵ Johann Endt, ed., *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1909); Berthe Marie Marti, ed., *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum* (Rome: American Academy of Rome, 1958); Giuseppe A. Cavajoni, ed., *Supplementum adnotationum super Lucanum*, vol. 1–2 (Milan: Cisalpino and Goliardica, 1979–1984). See also Mountford (1925: 60–77); Marti (1941: 245–54); Walter (1976: 28–33); Porro (1986: 193–7); Werner (1994: 343–68); Werner (1998).

Terence poets, Juvenal, Persius and Horace satirists, and Lucan a historian (*Legit itaque ac docuit Maronem et Statium Terentiumque poetas, Iuvenalem quoque ac Persium Horatiumque satiricos, Lucanum etiam historiographum*).⁶⁹⁶ Direct and indirect borrowings from Lucan's *Bellum civile* also appear in hagiographic and historical writings of authors such as Hincmar of Reims (*et frequentia ac civilia, immo plus quam civilia, quia intestina et parricidalia bella*), Widukind (*Ibi plus quam civile et omni calamitate acerbius bellum coeptum*), Thietmar of Merseburg, Wipo (*Haec eadem docuit Lucanum dicere bella/ Caesaris et Magni, quae durant ultima seculi*) and Adam of Bremen (*In quo miserabili et plus quam civili bello*), who also lists Lucan among such *auctores* as Macrobius and Bede the Venerable (*Cumque Macrobius et Beda uideantur ex illa re aliquid loqui, Lucanus autem nihil se scire fateatur, diuersi auctores uariis pugnant sentiis, omnes autem incertis abeunt rationibus*). Adam's use of the term *auctores* shows that to some extent he treated classical and patristic authors similarly.⁶⁹⁷ (Hungarian scholarship has so far only touched upon the issue of whether the eleventh-century Hungarian *Gesta* composition features traces of reading Lucan directly or in *florilegia*).⁶⁹⁸

Otloh of Saint Emmeram used Lucan as a model of the pagan author: *Inter quae illud est quod, ex persona philosophiae loquens, Lucanum gentilem et infidelem familiarem suum appellat, dicens: Et familiaris meus Lucanus. Quod enim nulli conueniat dicere gentilem aliquem uerae philosophiae, id est diuinae sapientiae familiarem esse, fidelis quilibet aduertere ualeat*. He was, furthermore, as devoted to reading Lucan as Saint Jerome was to reading Cicero: *Illa tripertita Maronis et inclyta uerba,/ Lectio Lucani, quam maxime tunc adamaui,/ Et cui iam nuper, diuinae legis adulter,/ Sic intentus eram quod uix agerem reliquum quid,/ Atque legentem ipsum cepit me haec passio primum./ Sed necdudum poenas credens exinde futuras,/ Languidus, ut poteram, legi studiosus eundem,/ Donec ullius uigor exstiterat mihi sensus*. Otloh also expanded on his obsession with Lucan in prose: *Interea ergo cum ibidem aliquandiu hospitarer, contigit quadam die, ut ante fores hospitii dati residens in lectione Lucani occuparer... Verumtamen interea nisu, quo potueram, lectionem Lucani frequentabam*.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁶ Richer of Reims, "Historiae," *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 194. See Manitius (1892b: 704–19).

⁶⁹⁷ Hincmar of Reims, "Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 3, 251; Widukind, "Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 60, 113; Wipo, "Tetralogus," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 77; Adam of Bremen, "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 87, 279. See Fickermann (1957: 21–76); Buchner (1965: 96–101); Gärtner (2002: 65–9); Warner (2002: 95–6).

⁶⁹⁸ See Bertényi (1960: 918).

⁶⁹⁹ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Dialogus de tribus quaestionibus," *PL* 146, 62; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "De doctrina spiritali liber metricus," *PL* 146, 279; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber visionum," *MGH: Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 13, 45. See Fischli (1944: 22); Bischoff (1967a: 77–115); Röckelein (1986: 41–57); Vinay (1989: 151–69).

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the anonymous *Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris* also frequently quoted Lucan.⁷⁰⁰ The *Accessus ad auctores* provides an entire chapter on Lucan under the heading *Accessus Lucani*.⁷⁰¹ At the beginning of the twelfth century, Conrad of Hirsau presented an overview of the Latin classics known to his day. In the *Dialogus super auctores*, Conrad not only provides a commentary on Lucan but also gives an insight into the changing canon of classical authors in the Middle Ages when he divides them into the categories of minor and major authors (*a minoribus quibuscumque auctoribus inciperem et per hos ad maiores peruenirem et gradus auctorum inferiorum occasio mihi fierent in discendo superiorum*): the minor ones are Aesop, the *Disticha Catonis*, Donatus, Juvencus, Prosper of Aquitaine, Sedulius, Avianus and Theodulus. The major ones (*ueniamus nunc ad romanos auctores*) are Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Prudentius, Boethius, Arator and the *Ilias Latina*.⁷⁰²

Lucan also appears in twelfth-century authors such as Rupert of Deutz and Abelard.⁷⁰³ Otto of Freising gives an appreciation of the stylistic and philosophical depth of Vergil and Lucan: *Nam et Lucanus, Virgilius caeterique Urbis scriptores non solum res gestas, sed etiam fabulosas, siue more pastorum uel colonorum summissius uel principum dominorumque orbis altius narrando, stilum tamen frequenter ad intima quaedam phylosophiae secreta attingenda sustulerunt*.⁷⁰⁴ John of Salisbury mentions Lucan along with Homer and Vergil (*signa, quae Virgilius et Lucanus diuino comprehendunt ingenio* and *Si autem ab auctoribus transsumantur, Homero quidem Graecus, Latinus autem, Virgilio utatur et Lucano*).⁷⁰⁵ So does Alan of Lille in the *Anticlaudianus*: *Ouidii fulmen, Lucani fulmen, abyssum/ Virgilii, morsus Satyrae, Solonis asylum*.⁷⁰⁶ Popular lines of Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* were incorporated into *florilegia* and thus infiltrated the *exempla* literature as well.⁷⁰⁷ Modeled on the term *auctorista*, a Lucan specialist was called *Lucanista* in the thirteenth century, when Lucan's text started to occur in vernacular epics and later in translations.⁷⁰⁸

From what students were actually learning elementary Latin grammar may not even

⁷⁰⁰ "Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 58, passim.

⁷⁰¹ R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 34–8. See also Sanford (1934b: 278–95); Huygens (1953: 471–5).

⁷⁰² Black (2001: 173–4). See also Hamilton (1909: 169–85); Huygens (1954a: 420–8); Paladini and De Marco (1970: 105); Whitbread (1972: 234–45); Tunberg (1987: 65–94).

⁷⁰³ See Silvestre (1950: 140–74); Moos (1975: 1024–59).

⁷⁰⁴ Otto of Freising, "Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 46, 12. See Krönert (2002: 33–73).

⁷⁰⁵ Clemens C.I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 70; John of Salisbury, "Metalogicon," *CCCM* 98, 133. See Moos (1979: 127–86).

⁷⁰⁶ Alan of Lille, "Anticlaudianus," *PL* 210, 505.

⁷⁰⁷ See Sanford (1934a: 1–19); Jennings (1974: 215–33). See also Skard (1957: 156–7).

⁷⁰⁸ See Crosland (1930: 32–51); Lucas (1970: 225–53).

be listed in the book list of the Pannonhalma charter. The entry *II Donati* in the book list refers to two copies of the *Ars grammatica* of Donatus. Along with Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, it was the basic Latin grammar in the Middle Ages. The *Ars grammatica* consisted of the *Ars minor* (*De partibus orationis*) and the *Ars maior*. Manuscripts usually contain the *Ars minor* first and the *Ars maior* later.⁷⁰⁹

Isidore of Seville provides an explanation of the alternative title of the *Ars minor*, *De partibus orationis* (*Etymologiae* 1.6.1): *Partes orationis primus Aristoteles duas tradidit, nomen et uerbum; deinde Donatus octo definiuit*. Nevertheless, there were authors who pretended to consider Donatus' grammar unworthy. Apart from the direct evidence from the manuscript tradition, the early medieval dissemination of Donatus can be inferred from the dedicatory letter of Gregory the Great to his *Moralia in Iob*: *Nam sicut huius quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem deuito, situs modosque etiam et praepositionum casus seruare contemno, quia indignum uehementer existimo, ut uerba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati*. (His statement about Donatus is taken over by Gunzo of Novara: *Sed quis tam excerebratus, ut putet uerba sacri eloquii stringi regulis Donati aut Prisciani?*) Gregory refers here to the *De barbarismo* of Donatus, a work on stylistic errors. Henri de Lubac calls this hostile approach towards Donatus *un manifeste d'obscurantisme* because Gregory usually argued for the importance of the liberal arts, including grammar, in Christian education in general and in understanding the word of God in particular: *Ad hoc quidem tantum liberales artes discendae sunt, ut per instructionem illarum diuina eloquia subtilius intellegantur. A nonnullorum cordibus discendi desiderium maligni spiritus tollunt, ut et saecularia nesciant et ad subtilitatem spiritalium non pertingant... Aperte quidem daemones sciunt, quia, dum saecularibus litteris instruimur, in spiritualibus adiuuamur. Cum ergo nos ea discere dissuadent, quid aliud quam, ne lanceam aut gladium faciamus, praecauent?* Gregory suggested that secular learning was also God's gift: *Hanc quippe saecularem scientiam omnipotens deus in plano anteposuit, ut nobis ascendendi gradum faceret, qui nos ad diuinae scripturae altitudinem leuare debuisset*. This approach, regarding grammar and the liberal arts as unworthy in themselves but necessary in understanding the Bible, is also applied by Berno of Reichenau in the early eleventh century: *Et mirum in modum, dum quidam huius mundi sapientes uideri et esse uolunt, per supersticiosam intelligentiam sacrae scripturae uerba suo sensui applicare conantur, et uerba, quae ipsa Dei uirtus et Dei sapientia per se protulit, uel Spiritus sanctus per ora prophetarum ac apostolorum praedixit, aliter secundum Donatum et Priscianum permutando canunt et dicunt, dum omnis philosophia mundana et saecularis scientiae doctrina originem a*

⁷⁰⁹ Donatus, "Ars grammatica," *GL* 4, 353–402. See *GL* 4, xxxv; Chase (1926); Brugnoli (1965: 139–49); Holtz (1977b: 522–38); Holtz (1981: 217–326); Ó Cróinín (1983: 307–11); Serbat (1983: 56–64); Contreni (1992a: I.1–21); Beck (1996).

sacrae scripturae auctoritate sumpserint. Quae enim est consequentia, ut Priscianus audiatur, et ueritas, quae Deus est, contemnatur? Sic enim Terentius, Virgilius, Tullius, caeterique liberalium litterarum sequaces in suis scripturis hoc meruerunt, ut eorum dicta permanerent inconuulsa. This tradition originates in the patristic perception of grammar. Saint Augustine, for instance, prefers *barbarismus* to *desertitudo*: *Quid ad nos quid grammatici uelint? Melius in barbarismo nostro uos intellegitis, quam in nostra desertitudine uos deserti eritis.*⁷¹⁰

A statement attributed to Bede the Venerable complains that teachers often altered the arts of Donatus, by means of inserting new passages, declensions or conjugations in the grammar, in order to adjust it to their specific needs; therefore only the oldest codices provided Donatus' text in its integrity (*Artium Donati liber ita a plerisque uitiatus est et corruptus, dum unusquisque pro libitu suo, siue ex aliis auctoribus, quod ei uisum est addidit, siue declinationes aut coniugationes et caeterum huiusmodi inseruit, ut nisi in antiquis codicibus, uix purus et integer ut ab eo est editus, reperiatur. Quod ne nos quoque fecisse uideamur, qua ex causa praesens digesserimus opusculum breuiter in eliminari paginola exponendum esse censuimus*).⁷¹¹ Although "to Carolingians," for instance, "Donatus meant the grammar, not the man," the *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* were not elementary school grammars. The reason why ordinary schoolmasters wrote commentaries on them was that beginners did not fully understand them on their own. Carolingian scholars, on the other hand, provided sophisticated commentaries on Donatus: these included the works of Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, Sedulius Scottus and Murethach, as well as the anonymous *Ars Ambrosiana* and the *Ars Laureshamensis*.⁷¹²

In the eleventh century, Peter Damian followed the apparently unfavorable but characteristically ambivalent approach of Gregory the Great. The ones who abandon the rules of Benedict for the rules of Donatus, Peter Damian wrote, are similar to the ones who abandon their wives for prostitutes (*Ut autem cum stomacho loquar, ex istorum numero sunt hii, qui gramaticum uulgu adeunt, qui relictis spiritalibus studiis addiscere terrenae artis ineptias concupiscunt, paruipendentes siquidem regulam Benedicti, regulis gaudent uacare Donati. Hii porro fastidientes ecclesiastice disci-*

⁷¹⁰ Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143, 7; Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," CCSL 144, 471, 472; Gunzo of Novara, "Epistola ad Augienses fratres," PL 136, 1288; Berno of Reichenau, "De varia psalmorum atque cantuum modulatione," PL 142, 1145–6; Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 38, 371. See Lubac (1960: 185–226); Riché (1962a: 187–200); Janson (1964: 162–8); Scivoletto (1964: 210–38); Pascal (1966: 193–7); Richter (1979: 16–34); Coletti (1982: 283–99); Holtz (1986: 531–40); Vainio (1999: 122).

⁷¹¹ Schmitz (1908: 69).

⁷¹² Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Liber in partibus Donati," CCCM 68; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem maiorem," CCCM 40B; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," CCCM 40; "Ars Ambrosiana: Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores," CCSL 133C; "Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem," CCCM 40A. See Leclercq (1948: 15–22); Ó Cróinín (1983: 307); Löfstedt (1984: 433–42).

pline peritiam, et secularibus studiis inhiantes, quid aliud quam in fidei thalamo coniugem relinquere castam, et ad scenicas uidentur descendere prostitutas? Et, ut ita fatear, meretricum lenociniis oblectati dant repudium liberis, ut uiolato nuptiali federe sotientur ancillis).⁷¹³ In spite of Peter Damian's apparent aversion, however, Donatus did not go out of fashion. On the contrary, his grammar was so widespread that other grammars were composed on its model in the later Middle Ages to help Greeks learn Latin: these grammars were called *Donatus Graecus*, *Donatus Graece*, *Donatus in Graeco* and *Donatus Graecorum*. A Byzantine monk in Constantinople with Venetian connections, Maximos Planudes, translated the *Ars minor* (and also Caesar, Cicero, Ovid, the *Disticha Catonis*, Saint Augustine and Boethius) into Greek at the end of the thirteenth century. Although the grammar was also translated into Provençal and later into French, the new grammars of Eberhard of Béthune and Alexander of Villedieu became more popular and put both Donatus and Priscian aside.⁷¹⁴

The entry *III Catones* in the book list of the Pannonhalma charter refers to copies of the *Disticha Catonis*, a collection of hexameters conveniently attributed to Marcus Porcius Cato the Censor. Roman inscriptions provide evidence that some of its proverbs were already circulating in the second century. Along with another collection, the *Monosticha Catonis*, with a less extensive manuscript tradition, the *Disticha Catonis* is a Stoic compendium of proverbial wisdom and practical pagan ethics used as a textbook in a Carolingian re-edition. The *Disticha* drew on virtually all the Latin classics, but medieval commentators converted Cato into a Christian moralist and the work, also called *Dicta*, *Praecepta* and *Moralia*, served as a standard reader for the study of Latin: its moralizing content made it a convenient text for grammatical exercise and thus a proper introductory material to Latin grammar in the Middle Ages.⁷¹⁵ Amplified with lines taken over from Christian sources that were incorporated into the text during the copying activity of its manuscripts, the *Disticha Catonis* was often included in manuals along with patristic and classical authors such as Terence, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Macrobius and Priscian. Carolingian manuscripts and library catalogs also called the work *Liber Catonis*, *Libri Catonis philosophi*, *Marci Catonis ad filium libri* and *Dicta Marci Catonis ad filium suum*.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.4, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1993), 34–5. See Giesebrecht (1845: 32); Rónay (1941: 325–30); Sandys (1958: 520).

⁷¹⁴ See Schmitt (1975: 205–13); Schmitt (1979: 97–108); Colombo Timelli (1996).

⁷¹⁵ Géza Némethy, ed., *Dicta Catonis quae vulgo inscribuntur Catonis disticha de moribus* (Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1895); Marcus Boas, ed., *Die Epistola Catonis* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1934); Marcus Boas and Johannes Botschuyver, ed., *Disticha Catonis* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1952); J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, ed., *Minor Latin Poets*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1982), 585–91. See Némethy (1889: 128–44); Stechert (1912); Boas (1914: 17–46); Chase (1922); Schanz (1922: 34–41); Hazelton (1957: 157–73); Bolgar (1958: 124–5); Beer (1972: 52–9); Roos (1984); Rädle (1995: 45–8).

⁷¹⁶ See Cipolla (1880: 517–36); Sanford (1924: 190–248).

Remigius of Auxerre commented on the *Disticha Catonis*: his commentary was frequently copied also in the eleventh century and usually followed the verses of the *Disticha Catonis* in the codices. Remigius provides the following introduction to the work: *Quatuor sunt requirenda in initio uniuscuiusque libri: persona uidelicet, locus, tempus et causa scribendi. Sed istius Catonis persona ignoratur, licet nomen sciatur. Duos enim Catones legimus fuisse, unum Uticensem ab Utica ciuitate Affricae, ubi mortuus fuit, cum fugeret Iulium Cesarem per arenariam solitudinem, alterum Censorinum; sed neuter illorum fuit iste Cato. Locus in hoc cognoscitur, quia scimus eum Romanum fuisse; tempus, quia moderno tempore fuit post Virgilium et Lucanum, unde et ex illorum libris exempla sumpsit. Alii Catones ueteres fuerunt, ante Virgilium et Lucanum. Scripsit hunc librum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem.*⁷¹⁷ Remigius of Auxerre's commentary on the *Disticha Catonis* was an antecedent of the chapter *Accessus Catonis* of the *Accessus ad auctores*. This chapter starts in the following way: *Duo Catones erant Rome, Censorinus Cato et Uticensis Cato. Ideo Censorinus dicitur Cato, quia bonus iudex erat et de omnibus iuste iudicabat. Ideo autem Uticensis Cato dicitur, quia deuicit Uticam, que est regio in Romano imperio. Sed Censorinus Cato cum uideret iuuenes et puellas in magno errore uersari scripsit hunc libellum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem bene uiuendi, et per eum docens cunctos homines ut iuste et caste uiuant. Alii dicunt quod huic libello nomen non ab auctore, sed a materia sit inditum: catus enim sapiens dicitur. Dicitur autem ideo ad filium suum scripsisse, ut eo utiliora collegisse putetur. Materia eius sunt precepta bene et caste uiuendi. Intentio eius est representare nobis qua uia tendamus ad ueram salutem, et ut diligenter eam appetamus et omni studio inquiramus non ad tempus, sed perseueranter. Utilitas est hunc librum legentibus ut uitam suam sapienter instituere agnoscant. Ethice subponitur quia ad utilitatem morum nititur. Premittit itaque prologum in quo nos attentos dociles beniuolos fieri desiderat. Quippe dum dicit "grauiter" attentos nos reddit. Dum uero dicit ubi errorem illum intellexerit, scilicet "in uia morum," in ipsorum morum consideratione dociles nos reddit. Dum autem uocat nos filios dicens "fili karissime" beniuolos nos reddit.*⁷¹⁸

In recommending his own collection of proverbs, Otloh of Saint Emmeram provides an excellent insight into the instruction of elementary Latin in a monastic setting. After reading the Psalter, schoolboys can be instructed by using Otloh's collection of proverbs, because they are shorter than Avianus' fables and more useful than Cato's words. The *Disticha Catonis* are being taught everywhere, by schoolmasters who forget that the faithful should first be exposed to the sacred rather than the pagan material, in order that students be able to study later the secular works related to grammar more securely (*Prouerbiorum autem hic collectorum dictis paruuli quilibet scolastici, si ita cuiquam placeat, possunt apte instrui post lectionem psalterii. Sunt enim multo breuio-*

⁷¹⁷ Ruhe (1968: 17). See Mancini (1902: 175–98); Manitius (1913: 79–113); De Marco (1952a: 466–7).

⁷¹⁸ Huygens (see n. 701, 15–6). See Huygens (1953: 304–5); Navone (1982: 311–27).

*ris et planioris sententiae, quam illa fabulosa Auiani dicta; sed et utiliora quam quaedam Catonis uerba, quae utraque omnes pene magistri legere solent ad prima puorum documenta, non attendentes quia tam paruulis quam senioribus Christi fidelibus sacra potius quam gentilia rudimenta primitus sint exhibenda, ut, in his aliquatenus instructi, postea saeculares litteras arti grammaticae congruas securius discant... Haec uos, discipuli, pariterque notate, magistri;/ Haec, rogo, deuote, pueri et iuuenes, legitote).*⁷¹⁹

The vernacular translations confirm Otloh's statement about the popularity of the *Disticha Catonis*. The work was translated into Anglo-Saxon in the tenth, Old English in the fourteenth, and Middle English in the fifteenth century.⁷²⁰ In the early eleventh century Notker Labeo provided an Old High German translation in Saint Gall, now lost. However, later German translations survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷²¹ The *Disticha Catonis* also influenced vernacular literature, such as the thirteenth-century Old French epic, indirectly via *florilegia* and late *glossulae*. Although the Greek translation by Maximos Planudes was virtually unknown in the Middle Ages, it plausibly illustrates the wide proliferation of the Latin original.⁷²² It also survives in a Catalan translation in a manuscript in Seville, dated to 1462.⁷²³ The work was also present in medieval Sweden: Bishop Siward of Uppsala owned one of its copies in his library around 1130; a manuscript from the Vadstena monastery, written after 1384, indicates that the monastery possessed a copy as well; the inventory of the Skara cathedral library, compiled in 1475, also lists a copy of the *Disticha Catonis*.⁷²⁴

The popular etymologies of geographical names in the chronicle literature of medieval Hungary possibly illustrate the influence of the work, because the reason for mentioning Cato's name was most probably the popularity of the *Disticha Catonis*. Simon of Kéza provides the following etymology: *in Apuliam et Calabriam, ubi Regionam ciuitatem et Cathonam, in qua Catho natus habitauit*. A slightly different version of Simon's etymology appears in the fourteenth-century chronicle composition: *Apuliam, Terram Laboris et Calabriam usque Regionam ciuitatem et Catonam, quam sapiens Cato fundasse dicitur*.⁷²⁵

In a wider European context, foreign parallels can help to define the standard of the eleventh-century library of the Pannonhalma monastery with regard to its few Latin

⁷¹⁹ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber proverbiorum," *PL* 146, 300–2. See Manitius (1892b: 156–71); Munk Olsen (1996b: 1–17).

⁷²⁰ See Nehab (1879: 46–54); Goldberg (1883: 7–24, 41–63); Arngart (1951–1952: 95–118); Hazelton (1960: 357–80).

⁷²¹ See Mitzka (1929: 3–20); Zarncke (1966).

⁷²² See Krumbacher (1897: 544–5); Schmitt (1967: 325–34); Schmitt (1968: 127–47); Opelt (1986: 175–91); Ortoleva (1991: 93–101).

⁷²³ See Farrés (1983: 9–33).

⁷²⁴ See Öberg (1976: 264–73). See also Frank (1909: 82–3).

⁷²⁵ Simon of Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," *SRH* 1, 160; "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.," *SRH* 1, 274.

classics. According to earlier and contemporary library catalogs, nearly all the monastic and cathedral libraries had copies of Cicero, Lucan, Donatus and the *Disticha Catonis*. Their classical holdings generally differed from each other, but the presence of these standard classical authors in the libraries suggests that the Pannonhalma book list does not simply feature a random selection of classical school texts.⁷²⁶

Catalog entries of the following libraries can be taken into consideration for the sake of comparison – Lorsch (ninth century): *Annaei Lucani belli ciuilis libri*; Passau (903): *De arte grammatica...*, *Donatum minorem et maiorem et opus Albini in Donatum...* and *libri Catonis IIII*;⁷²⁷ Saint Emmeram (tenth century): *orthographia Ciceronis...*, *Topica Ciceronis...*, *Rhetorica Ciceronis...* and *Catonis*; Echternach (end of the tenth century): Terence, Cicero (*Somnium Scipionis*), Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Statius, Juvenal, *Seruiolus*, Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*), Priscian (*Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium*), *Disticha Catonis* and *Accessus Catonis*;⁷²⁸ Bobbio (tenth and eleventh centuries): *sinonima Ciceronis...*, *libros Donati tres et in uno ex his habentur sinonima Ciceronis...*, *librum I Ciceronis in quo sunt topica et partitiones...*, *contra Catilinam librum I...*, *librum Ciceronis de senectute...*, *Lucani libros IV...* and *Disticha Catonis* (four copies);⁷²⁹ Pomposa (eleventh century): rich classical collection;⁷³⁰ Monte Cassino (eleventh century): *Ciceronem de natura deorum*; Saint Gall (1020): *Philippica*; Liège (eleventh century): *rettorica de inuentione*; Puy (eleventh century): *liber cui topica titulus est...*, *Cicero de retoricis diuisus duobus libris...*, *Cicero de inuectiuis et cum somnio Scipionis...*, *in quo continetur liber Catonis...*, *liber Catonis...*, *est et tertius liber Catonis...* and *commentum Catonis*; Anchin (late eleventh century): Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Statius, Juvenal, *Seruiellus*, Donatus, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Priscian, *Priscianellus* and *Disticha Catonis*;⁷³¹ Ripoll (eleventh century): Terence, Cicero, Vergil, Lucan, Juvenal, Donatus (four copies), Macrobius, Priscian and *Disticha Catonis*;⁷³² Fleury (eleventh century): rich classical collection;⁷³³ Cluny (middle of the twelfth century): virtually all the Latin classics;⁷³⁴ Gorze (eleventh century): *Expositio Remigii...*, *super Bedam de arte metrica* of Remigius of Auxerre, *Donati perfecti III. V imperfecti...*, *liber Catonis* and *Expositio maioris Donati*;⁷³⁵ Reichenau (1020): *rheto-*

⁷²⁶ See Manitius (1892a: 14–22, 54–7, 74–6, 86–7); Manitius (1892b: 704–19).

⁷²⁷ Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 4.1, *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (Munich: Beck, 1977), 24–6.

⁷²⁸ Schroeder (1977: 39–57).

⁷²⁹ Genest (1996: 251–60).

⁷³⁰ Manfredi (1996: 45–53).

⁷³¹ Gessler (1935: 49–116).

⁷³² Beer (1907: 106–9).

⁷³³ Pellegrin (1984–1985: 155–67).

⁷³⁴ See Giocarnis (1966: 310–48); Vezin (1967: 312–20).

⁷³⁵ Morin (1905: 1–14); Wagner (1996: 101–90).

rica Ciceronis; Tegernsee (second half of the eleventh century): *Donatus...*, *Librum super Donatum...* and *commentum in Lucanum*;⁷³⁶ Einsiedeln and Michelsberg (eleventh century): rich classical collection;⁷³⁷ Kremsmünster (1020): *Disticha Catonis* (two copies) and *Donatum et expositionem eius*;⁷³⁸ Reisbach (eleventh century): *unus M.T. Ciceronis de senectute et de amicitia qui et uocatur Cato maior...* and *sinonima Ciceronis*; Saint Egmont (1090): *Tullius de senectute...*, *Tullius de locis...*, *Tullius de amicitia...*, *orationes Tullii ad Gayum Cesarem...*, *Commentum Tullii super definitiones...*, *Tullium custodium anarum* (that is, *Tusculanarum*)..., *liber Ciceronis de senectute...*, *cum inuectiuus Tullii in Catilinam...*, *Tullium de senectute et de amicitia...*, *duos libros prime partis rethorice Tullii...*, *Inuectiuas Tullii...* and *Inuectiuas Tullii*; Blaubeuren (1085–1101): *Tullius de amicitia*, *idem de senectute...*, *Tullius de senectute idemque de amicitia...*, *Donatus maior* and *Disticha Catonis* (two copies);⁷³⁹ Weißenstephan (eleventh century): *De octo partibus orationis*; Füssen (end of the eleventh century): Sallust, Vergil, Donatus (four copies), Priscian and *Disticha Catonis* (two copies);⁷⁴⁰ Saint Lambrecht (end of the twelfth century): Cicero (two copies), Lucan, Donatus and *Disticha Catonis* (two copies).

Earlier analyses of the classical material in the library catalogs of monasteries in Germany have shown that they contributed to a considerable extent to the survival of ancient Roman literature.⁷⁴¹ Compared to its own type, however, Pannonhalma also represents a fairly decent standard. The library of Bury St. Edmunds, for instance, apparently had only one classical Latin author in the eleventh century: Donatus. (It developed a significant classical collection in the twelfth century.)⁷⁴² In the eleventh century, the library of Spalato in Dalmatia possessed liturgical books and Saint Benedict's Rule but no classical author.⁷⁴³

Scholars have already explored the cultural implications of the major representatives of these parallel library holdings.⁷⁴⁴ The classical holdings of the rich monastic

⁷³⁶ See Eder (1972: 52–135); Glauche (1998: 159–70).

⁷³⁷ See Dengler-Schreiber (1979: 150–205); Lang (1996: 275–98); Tischler (1999: 93–181).

⁷³⁸ Paulhart (see n. 664, 34).

⁷³⁹ Paul Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: Beck, 1918), 19–20.

⁷⁴⁰ Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg* (Munich: Beck, 1932), 112–8; Glauche and Knaus (see n. 102, 645–9).

⁷⁴¹ See Lehmann (1960a: 149–72).

⁷⁴² See Thomson (1972: 617–45); Sharpe, Carley, Thomson, and Watson (see n. 107, 43–50). See also Grierson (1940: 96–116).

⁷⁴³ Franjo Rački, ed., *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 7, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium, 1877), 182. See also Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 503 usque ad annum 1102* (Zagreb: Albrecht, 1874), 111–2, 152–3, 170–6, 189.

⁷⁴⁴ See Löffler (1922); Kottje (1969: 145–62); Ehlers (1996: 29–52).

houses have also received appropriate attention.⁷⁴⁵ In the light of the findings of earlier scholarship on these rich libraries, it becomes more feasible to evaluate the significance of the Latin classics in Pannonhalma. For it was the same patristic legacy that ultimately influenced the establishment of the monastic library holdings both in the eminent houses in the West and in Pannonhalma. This is all the more so because the establishment of the Pannonhalma collection obviously drew on these Western models. Symbolically speaking, Saint Jerome's vision (*Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*) influenced the formation of the classical canon in the Middle Ages as well as the classical erudition of Saint Ambrose or the Augustinian interpretation of the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum*: the part of the pagan heritage that is useful in Christian education is worth adapting and conserving.⁷⁴⁶ Clearly not as a direct consequence of these patristic criteria but beyond doubt in their spirit, monastic education conserved something of the *litteratus* idea of ancient Rome through the strong contribution of Carolingian *scriptoria*.⁷⁴⁷

The question is not if but how Pannonhalma fits into this pattern of late eleventh-century monastic education, which already represents a transition to a period when the number of *florilegia* containing classical texts radically increases but at the same time the primary role of the Benedictine monasteries is gradually taken over by the cathedral schools and not least by the Cistercians, also building on the classical heritage transmitted by the Benedictines.⁷⁴⁸ In the context of its parallels, the Pannonhalma library featured some of the classical texts that were standard textbooks of monastic schooling.⁷⁴⁹ On the other hand, even a Merovingian monastery had a better collection of classical authors. A library catalog surviving in an eighth-century codex supposedly from Corbie, for instance, records classical authors such as Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Tibullus, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Martial, Juvenal and Servius.⁷⁵⁰ When Elemér Mályusz argued that the Pannonhalma library represented the Merovingian level only, he meant to illustrate its fairly low cultural standard. His argument was criticized by Endre Ivánka, who suggested that the library was well equipped. With Corbie in mind, however, the assessment by Mályusz now seems like a compliment: overall, the library of the monastery of Pannonhalma had a small share in what medieval Latin philologists call the Benedictine Order's role in the transmission of the literature of ancient Rome in the Middle Ages.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁵ See Lehmann (1960b: 173–83); Leclercq (1961: 116–51); Leclercq (1969: 69–113); Bischoff (1981: 165–90); Magistrale (1996: 17–24); Crosas López (1998: 14–9); Riché (1998: 551–8).

⁷⁴⁶ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 190; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," *CCSL* 32, 73–7. See also Zelzer (1987: 201–26).

⁷⁴⁷ See Grundmann (1958: 1–65); Bischoff (1966a: 233–54).

⁷⁴⁸ See Rouse (1979: 131–60); Munk Olsen (1982b: 151–64); Munk Olsen (1984: 64–102). See also Rouse and Rouse (1982: 165–80); Hamesse (1990: 209–30).

⁷⁴⁹ See Csapodi (1984b: 55–69). See also Della Casa (1982: 667–71).

⁷⁵⁰ See Ullman (1954: 24–37); Bischoff (1966b: 49–63); Ganz (1990: 151–8).

⁷⁵¹ Mályusz (1933: 348–51); Ivánka (1937: 223–4); Koszta (1999b: 182). See also Mezey (1979: 102); Nemerényi (1999: 25–31).

CONCLUSION

Providing a reconciliation of classical authors and Christianity in his *Antibarbarorum liber*, Erasmus of Rotterdam once wrote the following: *Quo tandem iure o uos Gothi, e uestris egressi limitibus, non modo Latinorum prouincias occupatis (disciplinas loquor liberales) uerum eciam ipsam urbem rerum dominam, Latinitatem audetis incessere? ... Sic contempsit Augustinus ethnicae disciplinas, at tum posteaquam principatum esset in hiis assecutus. Sic literas Ciceronianas et Platonicas Hieronimus, ut nichilominus et egregie teneat, et passim utatur ... Ardet apud inferos Vergilius, et eius poemata cantat Christianus? Quasi non et multi Christiani illic ardeant quorum si qua bene scripta supersunt, nemo tamen iccirco respuenda putet ... A moribus uero apostolicis tam absumus quam a nobis India. Quod si nos apostolorum rusticitatem imitandi tantopere studium habet, miror cur non etiam piscari incipiamus. Sed extra iocum, Ambrosium imitari metus est? Hieronimum imitari religio est? Isti, inquiunt, nondum Christiani, et pueri adhuc, literis illis sunt imbuti.*⁷⁵²

Regardless of the enormous difference between the classical erudition of Erasmus and the training of the literate persons of eleventh-century Hungary, the latter also left similar traces of their approach to the Latin classics. However, the relevant evidence is fragmentary. Still, instead of lamenting with the late antique grammarian Terentianus Maurus about the fate of books (*pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli*), one can turn to a completely different type of source for comfort.⁷⁵³ In 1465, Janus Pannonius, the humanist bishop of Pécs in Hungary, wrote a letter to Galeotto Marzio in a Ciceronian style, complaining about his friends, who had already borrowed all his classical Latin volumes from him, so that his only hope was that he could keep his Greek books, since none of his friends knew Greek: *Postremo suades, ut libros mittam. An nondum etiam satis misisse uideor? Graeci mihi soli restant, Latinos iam omnes abstulistis. Di melius, quod nemo uestrum Graece scit! Puto et ex Graecis nullum mihi faceretis reliquum. Quodsi didiceritis, ego mox Iudaicam ediscam et ex Hebraeis codicibus bibliothecam inscribam. Quae est ita, tanta librorum habendorum insatiabilitas? Creditis hoc non esse uitium?*⁷⁵⁴

To bridge the gap between the letter of a bishop of a humanist erudition who is in love with Greek and Latin classics and the sources relevant from eleventh-century Hungary belongs to the domain of intellectual history. It seems appropriate to note here, however, that in spite of the geographical and chronological difference, these

⁷⁵² Hyma (1930: 273, 279, 281, 322). See Phillips (1970: 1–30).

⁷⁵³ Terentianus Maurus, “De litteris, de syllabis, de metris libri III,” *GL* 6, 363. See Gerstinger (1948: 14–5).

⁷⁵⁴ Csapodi (1974: 46). See also Nemerényi (2004: 7–17).

sources have something in common with the Erasmian and humanist traditions: they all attribute a special role to the Latin classics. The sparse and fragmentary evidence raises complex questions that are to be solved in their complexity. This is the main reason why the four major sources of this inquiry belong together. Drawing on the evidence provided by the four basic sources of this study, it is possible to establish the relation of the imported mainstream culture and the receiving territory. What makes the use of the standard classical authors distinctive in their new context is the fact that they were adapted to the various needs of literate people in eleventh-century Hungary right after its official conversion to Western Christianity.

First of all, Bonipert's request for a copy of Priscian's Latin grammar from Fulbert shows that the bishop of Pécs was aware of the emphasis on grammar at Chartres. He asked for the grammar to boost the study of Latin at the cathedral school of Pécs, which would serve as a solid foundation for the education in the liberal arts. The need for Priscian's grammar suggests that the students at Pécs already had an advanced command of Latin and what they needed was precisely what Priscian's grammar provided: an exhaustive grammar with an abundance of classical quotations as reference material. Contemporary cathedral libraries often possessed a copy of the grammar but in the case of Pécs, Bonipert's book request has an additional significance: it illustrates the starting point of the classical tradition in medieval Hungary.

While the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary was primarily influenced by Biblical Latin, it relied considerably on the classical tradition in a way similar to its Carolingian antecedents in the 'mirror of princes' tradition. It applied the organic metaphor to the representation of the bishops, drawing on Biblical and classical concepts of the body as they were transmitted through the patristic authorities. It also featured the medieval idea of Rome in an Ottonian setting, based on indirect information about ancient Roman history. Its textual parallels to classical, patristic and medieval works show that the anonymous author was embedded in the same literary tradition as his Western counterparts.

The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád presents a similar case in terms of methodology. Primarily it was also influenced by Biblical Latin and patristic sources, mainly Isidore of Seville, but the author's characteristically ambivalent approach to the seven liberal arts in general and to ancient rhetoric in particular shows that he did have some indirect knowledge of the Latin classics. The lexical and stylistic analysis of Book One provides an insight into Gerard's peculiar Latinity, but the review of his use of the literary convention of a fictive audience and the classical, patristic and medieval parallels of the text demonstrate that the *Deliberatio* relies on the classical tradition as it was transformed by the patristic authors.

Finally, the appearance of Cicero, Lucan, Donatus and the *Disticha Catonis* in the book list of the monastery of Pannonhalma fits into the medieval transformation of the classical canon: these school authors were widely read, quoted and commented by eve-

ryone from late antique grammarians to Carolingian scholars to later medieval authors. Contemporary monastic libraries often possessed copies of those classical texts that served as reading material at various stages of learning Latin. Although none of these classical manuscripts survives, the traces of the lost Latin classics of eleventh-century Hungary allow further conclusions.

What is known in the context of Hungary in the eleventh century is very little in terms of the standards of the classical holdings in the Carolingian libraries and the impressive cathedral and monastic collections such as those of Chartres, Cluny, Monte Cassino or Saint Gall. However, scholarship tends to treat these major centers of learning as reference points, as if these elite cathedrals and monasteries were representative of something that they are not: the average school setting of the eleventh century. The evidence on Pécs or Pannonhalma is a lot closer to that and of course this is partly why one cannot even differentiate between the types of a cathedral and a monastic library holding, besides the random availability of relevant sources.⁷⁵⁵

The presence of the Latin classics in local collections and in the libraries accessible to literate persons, such as the anonymous author of the *Admonitions* or Gerard of Csanád, is rather difficult to verify on the basis of their mostly secondhand knowledge of the ancient Roman texts, but can by no means be excluded either—the school authors were usually Latin classics in medieval Hungary as well. Another difficulty is that of distinguishing between the classical training that the authors received abroad, using the material of foreign libraries and the resources of foreign schools, and the readings that were already available for them in Hungary.⁷⁵⁶

The problem of direct and indirect quotations is equally important. Besides suggesting that philologists should prefer the distinction between literal quotation and paraphrase to the differentiation between quotation, allusion and reminiscence, Harald Hagendahl has also pointed out that it is more informative to determine why and how a quotation occurs than to establish its origin. Hagendahl, however, worked on a rich patristic material and relied on centuries of relevant textual scholarship, which enabled him to propose subtle distinctions.⁷⁵⁷ It takes further studies to fully achieve these objectives regarding the “crystal clear Latinity” of the *Admonitions* and the less articulated, often irregular, composition of the *Deliberatio*, and to define to what extent they engage in direct quotations from classical authors or indirect quotations through the mediation of patristic and Carolingian authors, sample material in grammars, and *florilegia*.⁷⁵⁸

The Latin West could rely on a long tradition of copying and using classical texts,

⁷⁵⁵ See Munk Olsen (1989: 31–44). See also Reynolds and Wilson (1974: 86–90); Brunhölzl (1971: 117–31); Bloch (1972: 563–605); Newton (1999: 96–118); Ochsenein (1999: 95–107).

⁷⁵⁶ See Glauche (1972: 617–36).

⁷⁵⁷ Hagendahl (1947: 114–28). See also O'Donnell (1980: 144–75); Parker (1996: 91–108).

⁷⁵⁸ See Horváth (1954: 31).

but the recently Christianized countries did not have any such tradition whatsoever. One could nevertheless argue that the effect of the Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary reflected the Western tradition. One should also avoid overinterpretation, however, because the imported mainstream culture of the West carried its own established classical tradition as well, and the intellectual life of eleventh-century Hungary did not necessarily meet Western standards.⁷⁵⁹ This is, however, a beginning worth studying, in order to historically understand the development of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary and thus provide a modest contribution to the present state of research into the classical tradition in the Middle Ages.⁷⁶⁰

One should not be satisfied with limited interpretations on the significance of the Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary. The sources, however sparse and fragmentary, merit future studies that could enrich the present state of research with valuable new insights. Directions of further research may include material dating from eleventh-century Hungary but excluded from the present study: charters, law codes, historical and hagiographic accounts, and liturgical texts. These sources represent genres to be investigated separately from the perspective of the classical tradition in their full process of development, but their analysis will no doubt further contextualize the particular results in their wider context, the so-called medieval Christian humanism.⁷⁶¹

The point of departure of further research in this direction will embrace the principal thesis of the present study: Latin classics had a stronger impact on the formation of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary than has hitherto been acknowledged. If this thesis proves acceptable, future contributions will be useful for the study of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary as well as the scholarship in medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages—for classicists and medievalists alike.

⁷⁵⁹ See Fügedi (1986: VII.1–14).

⁷⁶⁰ See Munk Olsen (1995: 185–96).

⁷⁶¹ See Rüegg (1973: 91–111).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Abbo of Fleury. "Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 139, 461–72. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Abelard. "Theologia Christiana." In *CCCM*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, vol. 12, 5–372. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- Adam of Bremen. "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, vol. 2. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1917.
- Adelman of Liège. "De eucharistiae sacramento ad Berengarium epistola." In *CCCM*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, vol. 171, 166–201. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- Ademar of Chabannes. "Chronicon." In *CCCM*, ed. P. Bourgain, R. Landes, and G. Pou, vol. 129. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- Alan of Lille. "Anticlaudianus." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 210, 481–576. Paris: Migne, 1855.
- Alcuin. "Epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 100, 135–514. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Compendium in Canticum canticorum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 100, 639–64. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 100, 733–1008. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Adversus Elipandum libri." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 231–300. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Liber de virtutibus et vitiis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 613–38. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Epigrammata et aenigmata." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 802–12. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 812–46. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Grammatica." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 849–902. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 919–50. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "De dialectica." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101, 949–76. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Alcuin. "Orthographia." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 7, 295–312. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880.
- Aldhelm. "De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis." In *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi*, ed. Rudolfus Ewald, vol. 15, 33–204. Berlin: Weidmann, 1919.
- Ambrosius Autpertus. "Expositio in Apocalypsin." In *CCCM*, ed. Robert Weber, vol. 27–27A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.

- Anamodus of Regensburg. "Traditiones Emmeramenses." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 129, 897–962. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Anastasius Bibliothecarius. "Interpretatio synodi VII generalis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 129, 195–512. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- "Annales Althenses maiores." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. W. Giesebrecht and Edmundus L.B. Oefele, vol. 4. Hanover: Hahn, 1891.
- "Annales Hildesheimenses." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Georg Waitz, vol. 8. Hanover: Hahn, 1878.
- "Annales Posenienses." In *SRH*, ed. Imre Madzsar, vol. 1, 119–27. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937.
- "Annales sancti Emmerammi Ratisponensis minores." In *MGH: Scriptores*, ed. Georg Pertz, vol. 1, 93–4. Hanover: Hahn, 1826.
- Anonymus. "Gesta Hungarorum." In *SRH*, ed. Emil Jakubovich and Dezső Pais, vol. 1, 13–117. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937.
- "Appendix ad s. Fulgentii opera." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 65, 843–954. Paris: Migne, 1847.
- Arnobius. "Adversus nationes libri VII." In *CSEL*, ed. Augustus Reifferscheid, vol. 4. Vienna: Gerold, 1875.
- Arnobius. "Commentarii in Psalmos." In *CCSL*, ed. Klaus-D. Daur, vol. 25. Turnhout: Brepols, 1990.
- Arnold of Saint Emmeram. "De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 141, 989–1090. Paris: Garnier, 1880.
- "Ars Ambrosiana: Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores." In *CCSL*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 133C. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.
- "Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem." In *CCCM*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 40A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.
- Atto of Vercelli. "De pressuris ecclesiasticis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 134, 51–96. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Bak, János M., and James Ross Sweeney. "De institutione morum ad Emericum ducem: To Prince Imre concerning Instruction in Virtuous Conduct." *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.4 (1988): 98–105.
- Bak, János M., György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney, ed. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*. Vol. 1, 1000–1301. Idyllwild, CA: Schlacks, 1999.
- Batthyány, Ignác, ed. *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium*. Karlsburg: Typis Episcopilibus, 1790.
- "Beati Flacci Alcuini vita." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 100, 89–106. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Becker, Gustav, ed. *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*. Bonn: Cohen, 1885.
- Bede the Venerable. "Hexaameron." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 91, 9–190. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Bede the Venerable. "In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 91, 499–714. Paris: Migne, 1850.

- Bede the Venerable. "In Esdram et Nehemiam prophetas allegorica expositio." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 91, 807–924. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Bede the Venerable. "Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 91, 937–1040. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Bede the Venerable. "Expositio super epistolas catholicas." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 93, 9–130. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Bede the Venerable. "Libellus precum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 94, 515–32. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Bede the Venerable. "Vita quinque sanctorum abbatum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 94, 711–30. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Bede the Venerable. "In Genesim." In *CCSL*, ed. Ch.W. Jones, vol. 118A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1967.
- Bede the Venerable. "In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 119, 1–287. Turnhout: Brepols, 1962.
- Bede the Venerable. "De templo libri II." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 119A, 141–234. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- Bede the Venerable. "In Ezram et Neemiam libri III." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 119A, 235–392. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- Bede the Venerable. "In Prouerbia Salomonis libri III." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 119B, 21–163. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983.
- Bede the Venerable. "In Lucae evangelium expositio." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 120, 1–425. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960.
- Bede the Venerable. "In Marci evangelium expositio." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 120, 427–648. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960.
- Bede the Venerable. "In epistolas septem catholicas." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 121, 179–342. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983.
- Bede the Venerable. "Explanatio Apocalypseos." In *CCSL*, ed. Roger Gryson, vol. 121A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Bede the Venerable. "Homeliarum evangelii libri II." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst, vol. 122, 1–378. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955.
- Bede the Venerable. "De orthographia." In *CCSL*, ed. Ch.W. Jones, vol. 123A, 1–57. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Bede the Venerable. "De arte metrica." In *CCSL*, ed. C.B. Kendall, vol. 123A, 59–141. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Bede the Venerable. "De schematibus et tropis." In *CCSL*, ed. C.B. Kendall, vol. 123A, 142–71. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Bede the Venerable. "De natura rerum." In *CCSL*, ed. Ch.W. Jones, vol. 123A, 173–234. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Bede the Venerable. "De temporum ratione liber." In *CCSL*, ed. Ch.W. Jones, vol. 123B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.
- Behrends, Frederick, ed. *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

- Benedict of Aniane. "Concordia regularum." In *CCCM*, ed. Pierre Bonnerue, vol. 168A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- "Benedicti regula." In *CSEL*, ed. Rudolphus Hanslik, vol. 75. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1960.
- Berend, Nora. "Hartvic: Life of King Stephen of Hungary." In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head, 375–98. New York and London: Garland, 2000.
- Berno of Reichenau. "De varia psalmorum atque cantuum modulatione." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 142, 1131–54. Paris: Garnier, 1880.
- Bernold of Constance. "Chronicon." In *MGH: Scriptores*, ed. Heinrich Pertz, vol. 5, 385–467. Hanover: Hahn, 1844.
- Bielowski, August, ed. *Monumenta Poloniae historica*. Vol. 1. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960.
- Bitterauf, Theodor, ed. *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*. Vol. 2, 926–1283. Aalen: Scientia, 1967.
- Boas, Marcus, ed. *Die Epistola Catonis*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1934.
- Boas, Marcus, and Johannes Botschuyver, ed. *Disticha Catonis*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1952.
- Boethius. "Commentaria in Porphyrium." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 64, 71–158. Paris: Migne, 1847.
- Boethius. "In librum Aristotelis de interpretatione editio prima." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 64, 293–392. Paris: Migne, 1847.
- Boethius. "De diffinitione." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 64, 891–910. Paris: Migne, 1847.
- Boethius. "Philosophiae consolatio." In *CCSL*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, vol. 94. Turnhout: Brepols, 1984.
- Bruno of Segni. "Sententiae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 165, 875–1078. Paris: Migne, 1854.
- Cassianus. "Conlationes." In *CSEL*, ed. Michael Petschenig, vol. 13. Vienna: Gerold, 1886.
- Cassianus. "De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis." In *CSEL*, ed. Michael Petschenig, vol. 17, 1–231. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1888.
- Cassiodorus. "Complexiones in Actus apostolorum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 70, 1381–406. Paris: Migne, 1847.
- Cassiodorus. "De orthographia." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 7, 127–216. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880.
- Cassiodorus. "Expositio Psalmorum." In *CCSL*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 97–98. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958.
- Cassiodorus. "Variarum libri XII." In *CCSL*, ed. Å.J. Fridh, vol. 96, 1–499. Turnhout: Brepols, 1973.
- Cassiodorus. "De anima." In *CCSL*, ed. James W. Halporn, vol. 96, 501–75. Turnhout: Brepols, 1973.
- Cavajoni, Giuseppe A., ed. *Supplementum adnotationum super Lucanum*. Vol. 1–2. Milan: Cisalpino and Goliardica, 1979–1984.

- “Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.” In *SRH*, ed. Sándor Domanovszky, vol. 1, 217–505. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937.
- Colgrave, Bertram, and R.A.B. Mynors, ed. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- “Collectio canonum in V libris.” In *CCCM*, ed. M. Fornasari, vol. 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 1970.
- “Concilium Toletanum IV.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 84, 363–90. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Constantinescu, Radu, ed. *Gerard din Cenad: Armonia lumii sau tâlmăcire a cîntării celor trei coconi către Isingrim dascălul* (Gerard of Csanád: The harmony of the light or the interpretation of the song of the three boys dedicated to Master Isingrim). Bucharest: Meridiane, 1984.
- De Smedt, Carolus, Iosephus De Backer, Franciscus Van Ortroy, Iosephus Van Den Gheyn, Hippolytus Delehaye, and Albertus Poncelet, ed. *AASS Novembris*. Vol. 2.1. Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1894.
- Delisle, Léopold, ed. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Vol. 10. Paris: Palme, 1874.
- “Die Regensburger rhetorischen Briefe.” In *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, ed. Norbert Fickermann, vol. 5, 259–382. Weimar: Böhlau, 1950.
- “Donationes ac testamenta.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 88, 1155–318. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Donatus. “Ars grammatica.” In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 4, 353–402. Leipzig: Teubner, 1864.
- Dreves, Guido Maria, ed. *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. Vol. 21.2, *Cantiones et muteti: Cantiones festivae, morales, variae*. Leipzig: Reisland, 1895.
- Duff, J. Wight, and Arnold M. Duff, ed. *Minor Latin Poets*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1982.
- Eberwin of Trier. “Vita sancti Symeonis.” In *AASS Junii*, ed. Daniel Papebrochius, vol. 1, 86–92. Paris and Rome: Palme, 1867.
- Einhard. “Vita Karoli magni.” In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Georg Pertz and Georg Waitz, vol. 25. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1911.
- Ekkehard of Saint Gall. “Vita beati Notkeri Balbuli.” In *AASS Aprilis*, ed. Godefridus Henschenius and Daniel Papebrochius, vol. 1, 577–93. Paris and Rome: Palme, 1866.
- Endt, Johann, ed. *Adnotationes super Lucanum*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1909.
- Erdélyi, László. “Oklevéltár” (Charters). In *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1, 587–800. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902.
- Erdmann, Carl, and Norbert Fickermann, ed. *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 5, *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1950.
- Érszegi, Géza, ed. *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Legends and admonitions from the Árpád age). Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983.
- Fejér, György, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vol. 1. Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829.
- Firmicus Maternus. “De errore profanarum religionum.” In *CSEL*, ed. Karl Halm, vol. 2, 73–130. Vienna: Gerold, 1867.

- Florianus, M., ed. *Historiae Hungaricae fontes domestici*. Vol. 1. Pécs: Taizs, 1881.
- France, John, ed. *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Fromund of Tegernsee. "Epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 141, 1283–90. Paris: Garnier, 1880.
- Fulbert of Chartres. "Epistola ad archiepiscopum Bonipertum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 141, 189–90. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Fulgentius. "Epistula XIV ad Ferrandum." In *CCSL*, ed. Iohannes Fraipont, vol. 91, 383–444. Turnhout: Brepols, 1968.
- Gerard of Csanád. "Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum." In *CCCM*, ed. Gabriel Silagi, vol. 49. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978.
- Gerbert of Aurillac. "De corpore et sanguine domini." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 139, 177–88. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Glauche, Günter, and Hermann Knaus, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. Vol. 4.2, *Bistum Freising – Bistum Würzburg*. Munich: Beck, 1979.
- Gloria, Andrea, ed. *Codice diplomatico padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto l'undecimo*. Vol. 1. Venice: Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1877.
- Gombos, Albin Ferencz, ed. *CFHH*. Vol. 1–3. Budapest: Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Nominata, 1937–1938.
- Gottfried of Admont. "Homiliae in festa totius anni." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 174, 633–1060. Paris: Migne, 1854.
- Graesse, Th., ed. *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965.
- Gregory of Tours. "De virtutibus sancti Martini." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, vol. 1, 584–661. Hanover: Hahn, 1885.
- Gregory the Great. "Homiliae in evangelia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 76, 1075–312. Paris: Migne, 1849.
- Gregory the Great. "Registrum epistularum." In *CCSL*, ed. Dag Norberg, vol. 140A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.
- Gregory the Great. "Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam." In *CCSL*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 142. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971.
- Gregory the Great. "Moralia in Iob." In *CCSL*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 143–143A–143B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–1985.
- Gregory the Great. "Expositio in Canticum canticorum." In *CCSL*, ed. Patricius Verbraken, vol. 144, 1–46. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963.
- Gregory the Great. "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI." In *CCSL*, ed. Patricius Verbraken, vol. 144, 47–614. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963.
- Gunzo of Novara. "Epistola ad Augienses fratres." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 136, 1279–302. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Györffy, György, ed. *DHA: Accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*. Vol. 1, *Ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992.
- Györffy, György, and Emma Bartoniek, ed. *Szent István törvényeinek XII. századi kézírata az Admonti kódexben (Hasonmás kiadás)* (The twelfth-century manuscript of the laws of Saint Stephen in the Admont codex: facsimile edition). Budapest: Helikon, 1988.

- Hardie, Colinus, ed. *Vitae Vergilianae antiquae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Hartvic. "Legenda sancti Stephani regis." In *SRH*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, vol. 2, 401–40. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- Haymo of Fleury. "Historia Francorum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 139, 627–802. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Haymo of Halberstadt. "Commentarius in Psalmos." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 116, 191–696. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Haymo of Halberstadt. "Homiliae de sanctis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 118, 747–804. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hehl, Ernst-Dieter, and Horst Fuhrmann, ed. *MGH: Concilia*. Vol. 6.1, *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–960*. Hanover: Hahn, 1987.
- Henry of Auxerre. "De miraculis sancti Germani." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 124, 1207–70. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Herman of Tournai. "Liber de restauratione monasterii sancti Martini Tornacensis." In *MGH: Scriptores*, ed. Georg Waitz, vol. 14, 274–317. Hanover: Hahn, 1883.
- Hiley, David, ed. *Historia Sancti Emmerammi Arnoldi Vohburgensis circa 1030*. Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1996.
- Hincmar of Laon. "Opuscula et epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 124, 979–1072. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hincmar of Reims. "De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 125, 55–474. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hincmar of Reims. "Coronationes regiae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 125, 803–18. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hincmar of Reims. "De regis persona et regio ministerio ad Carolum calvum regem." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 125, 833–56. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hincmar of Reims. "Ad Carolum III. imperatorem." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 125, 989–94. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hincmar of Reims. "Epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 126, 9–648. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hincmar of Reims. "Annales Bertiniani." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Georg Waitz, vol. 5, 55–154. Hanover: Hahn, 1883.
- Hincmar of Reims. "Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, vol. 3, 239–341. Hanover: Hahn, 1896.
- Hincmar of Reims. "De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae." In *MGH: Concilia*, ed. Letha Böhringer, vol. 4.1. Hanover: Hahn, 1992.
- Hosius, Carolus, ed. *M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili libri decem*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1892.
- Howell, Wilbur Samuel, ed. *The Rhetoric of Alcuin & Charlemagne*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "De clericorum institutione." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 107, 293–420. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentaria in Genesim." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 107, 439–670. Paris: Migne, 1851.

- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentaria in Matthaum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 107, 727–1156. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Expositiones in Leviticum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 108, 245–586. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentaria in librum Iudicum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 108, 1107–200. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentaria in libros Regum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 109, 9–280. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentaria in libros Paralipomenon." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 109, 279–540. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Expositio in librum Esther." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 109, 635–70. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentarii in librum Sapientiae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 109, 671–762. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 109, 763–1126. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Homiliae de festis praecipuis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 110, 9–134. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri viginti." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 110, 493–1084. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "De universo." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 111, 9–614. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Expositio super Jeremiam prophetam." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 111, 793–1272. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Enarrationes in epistolas beati Pauli." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 111, 1273–616. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 112, 9–848. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 112, 849–1088. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "Commentaria ad cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 112, 1089–166. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "De ecclesiastica disciplina." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 112, 1191–262. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 112, 1261–332. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "De computo." In *CCCM*, ed. Wesley M. Stevens, vol. 44, 163–331. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.
- Hrabanus Maurus. "In honorem sanctae crucis." In *CCCM*, ed. Michel Perrin, vol. 100. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Huygens, R.B.C., ed. *Accessus ad auctores*. Brussels: Latomus, 1954.
- Ineichen-Eder, Christine Elisabeth, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*. Vol. 4.1, *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg*. Munich: Beck, 1977.

- Isidore of Seville. "Differentiae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 83, 10–98. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Isidore of Seville. "Quaestiones in vetus testamentum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 83, 201–424. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Isidore of Seville. "De fide catholica." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 83, 449–538. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Isidore of Seville. "De natura rerum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 83, 963–1018. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Isidore of Seville. "Sententiae." In *CCSL*, ed. Pierre Cazier, vol. 111. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- Isidore of Seville. "Chronica." In *CCSL*, ed. Jose Carlos Martin, vol. 112. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- Isidore of Seville. "De ecclesiasticis officiis." In *CCSL*, ed. Christopher M. Lawson, vol. 113. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989.
- Isidore of Seville. "Versus." In *CCSL*, ed. José María Sánchez Martín, vol. 113A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- Ivo of Chartres. "Decretum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 161, 47–1022. Paris: Garnier, 1889.
- John of Salisbury. "Metalogicon." In *CCCM*, ed. J.B. Hall and K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, vol. 98. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "De divisione naturae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 122, 439–1022. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 122, 1035–70. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 122, 1069–112. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De divinis nominibus." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 122, 1111–72. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 122, 1171–6. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: Epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 122, 1175–94. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- John Scottus Eriugena. "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem." In *CCCM*, ed. J. Barbet, vol. 31. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Jonas of Orléans. "Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 106, 277–306. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Jonas of Orléans. "De institutione regia." In *SC*, ed. Alain Dubreucq, vol. 407. Paris: Cerf, 1995.
- Jordan, Edouard. "Les Exhortations de saint Etienne." *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31.8 (1938): 130–8.
- Jordanes. "Getica." In *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, vol. 5.1, 53–138. Berlin: Weidmann, 1882.
- Jotsaldus. "De vita et virtutibus sancti Odilonis abbatis." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 142, 895–940. Paris: Garnier, 1880.

- Karácsonyi, Béla, and László Szegfü. "Szemelvények Gellért Deliberatio-jából" (Passages from the *Deliberatio* of Gerard). *Világosság* 17.2 (1976): 97–9.
- Karácsonyi, Béla, and László Szegfü, ed. *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum*. Szeged: Scriptum, 1999.
- Keil, Heinrich, ed. *GL*. Vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1864.
- Knauz, Nándor, ed. *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Vol. 1, *Ab a. 979. ad a. 1273*. Esztergom: Horák, 1874.
- Kristó, Gyula, ed. *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai* (The written sources of the time of the foundation of the state). Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1999.
- Lactantius. "Diuinae institutiones." In *CSEL*, ed. Samuel Brandt, vol. 19. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1890.
- Lactantius. "De opificio Dei." In *SC*, ed. Michel Perrin, vol. 213. Paris: Cerf, 1974.
- Landulf. "Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor." In *RIS*, ed. Alessandro Cutolo, vol. 4.2. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1942.
- Lanfranchi, Luigi, ed. *Benedettini in S. Giorgio Maggiore*. Vol. 2, *Documenti 982–1159*. Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1968.
- "Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis." In *SRH*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, vol. 2, 377–92. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- "Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis." In *SRH*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, vol. 2, 393–400. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- "Legenda sancti Emerici ducis." In *SRH*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, vol. 2, 441–60. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi." In *SRH*, ed. Imre Madzsar, vol. 2, 461–506. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- "Legenda sancti Ladislai regis." In *SRH*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, vol. 2, 507–27. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- Lehmann, Paul, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. Vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*. Munich: Beck, 1918.
- Leo the Great. "Sermones inediti." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 56, 1131–54. Paris: Migne, 1846.
- Leo the Great. "Tractatus." In *CCSL*, ed. Antonius Chavasse, vol. 138–138A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1973.
- Leo VII. "Epistolae et privilegia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 132, 1065–88. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- "Libellus de institutione morum." In *SRH*, ed. József Balogh, vol. 2, 611–27. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- Lupus of Ferrières. "Epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 119, 431–610. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Lupus of Ferrières. "Liber de tribus quaestionibus." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 119, 619–48. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Madas, Edit, ed. *Szöveggyűjtemény a régi magyar irodalom történetéhez: Középkor (1000–1530)* (Selections of texts for the history of old Hungarian literature: Middle Ages, 1000–1530). Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1992.

- Manaresi, Cesare, ed. *I placiti del «Regnum Italiae»*. Vol. 2.1–2. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957–1958.
- Márkus, Dezső, ed. *Corpus iuris Hungarici: Magyar törvénytár 1000–1526 (Corpus iuris Hungarici: inventory of Hungarian laws 1000–1526)*. Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1899.
- Marsilius of Padua. *The Defender of the Peace*. Vol. 2, *The Defensor Pacis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.
- Marti, Berthe Marie, ed. *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum*. Rome: American Academy of Rome, 1958.
- Maurus. “Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti.” In *SRH*, ed. Imre Madzsar, vol. 2, 347–61. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- Merlet, René, and Alexandre Clerval, ed. *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle*. Chartres: Garnier, 1893.
- “Monita ad filium.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 151, 1233–44. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Murethach. “In Donati artem maiorem.” In *CCCM*, ed. Louis Holtz, vol. 40. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.
- Némethy, Géza, ed. *Dicta Catonis quae vulgo inscribuntur Catonis disticha de moribus*. Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1895.
- Notker Balbulus. “Hymnus de omnibus sanctis.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 87, 57–8. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Notker Balbulus. “De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 131, 993–1004. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Novatianus. “De Trinitate.” In *CCSL*, ed. G.F. Diercks, vol. 4, 1–78. Turnhout: Brepols, 1972.
- Odilo of Cluny. “Liber miraculorum.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 142, 981–92. Paris: Garnier, 1880.
- Odilo of Cluny. “Sermones.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 142, 991–1036. Paris: Garnier, 1880.
- Odo of Cluny. “Collationes.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 133, 517–638. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “Sermo de eo quod legitur in Psalmis.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 93, 1103–28. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “Libellus de tentationibus.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146, 27–58. Paris: Garnier, 1884.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “Dialogus de tribus quaestionibus.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146, 59–134. Paris: Garnier, 1884.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “De admonitione clericorum et laicorum.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146, 243–62. Paris: Garnier, 1884.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “De doctrina spirituali liber metricus.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146, 263–300. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “Liber proverbiorum.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146, 299–338. Paris: Garnier, 1884.
- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. “Vita Bonifatii.” In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, vol. 57, 111–217. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1905.

- Otloh of Saint Emmeram. "Liber visionum." In *MGH: Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt, vol. 13. Weimar: Böhlau, 1989.
- Otto of Freising. "Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, vol. 45. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1912.
- Otto of Freising. "Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Georg Waitz, vol. 46, 1–161. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1912.
- Paschasius Radbertus. "Expositio in evangelium Matthaei." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 120, 31–994. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Paul the Deacon. "Historia Langobardorum." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, ed. L. Bethmann and Georg Waitz, 12–187. Hanover: Hahn, 1878.
- Paul the Deacon. "Historia Romana." In *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi*, ed. H. Droysen, vol. 2, 377–405. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879.
- Paul the Deacon. "Historia Romana." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. H. Droysen, vol. 49. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879.
- Paulhart, Herbert, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*. Vol. 5, *Oberösterreich*. Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Böhlau, 1971.
- Peter Damian. "Vita sancti Romualdi." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 144, 953–1008. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Peter Damian. "Passio sanctarum virginum Florae et Lucillae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 144, 1025–32. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Peter Damian. "Sermones." In *CCCM*, ed. Ioannes Lucchesi, vol. 57. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983.
- Peter of Blois. "Epistolae." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 207, 1–560. Paris: Migne, 1855.
- Peter of Saint Aubert. "Vita sanctae Dymphnae virginis martyris." In *AASS Maii*, ed. Godefridus Henschenius and Daniel Papebrochius, vol. 3, 478–87. Paris and Rome: Palme, 1866.
- Pinius, Joannes, Joannes Stiltinus, Joannes Limpenus, and Joannes Veldius, ed. *AASS Septembris*. Vol. 1. Paris and Rome: Palme, 1868.
- "Planctus destructionis regni Hungariae per Tartaros." In *SRH*, ed. László Juhász, vol. 2, 589–98. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.
- Priscian. "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII." In *GL*, ed. Martin Hertz, vol. 2–3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1855–1859.
- Priscian. "De figuris numerorum." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 3, 406–17. Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Priscian. "De metris fabularum Terentii." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 3, 418–29. Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Priscian. "Praeexercitamina." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 3, 430–40. Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Priscian. "Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 3, 441–56. Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Priscian. "Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 3, 457–515. Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Prudentius. "Carmina." In *CCSL*, ed. Mauricius P. Cunningham, vol. 126. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966.

- Pseudo-Bede. "Commentarius in librum Boethii de Trinitate." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 95, 391–411. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Pseudo-Cyprian. *De XII abusivis saeculi*, ed. Siegmund Hellmann. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1909.
- Pseudo-Hermenbert. "Vita Vincentiani confessoris Avolcensis." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, vol. 5, 112–28. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1910.
- Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus. "Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 111, 613–78. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Rački, Franjo, ed. *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*. Vol. 7, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*. Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium, 1877.
- Ratherius of Verona. "Praeloquia." In *CCCM*, ed. Peter L.D. Reid, vol. 46A, 1–196. Turnhout: Brepols, 1984.
- Regino of Prüm. "Chronicon." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 132, 9–150. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Reindel, Kurt, ed. *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 4.1–4, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*. Munich: MGH, 1983–1993.
- "Remigiana." In *CCCM*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, vol. 171, 9–55. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- Remigius of Auxerre. "Enarrationes in Psalmos." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 131, 133–844. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Remigius of Auxerre. "De musica." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 131, 931–64. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- Richer of Reims. "Historiae." In *MGH: Scriptores*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, vol. 38. Hanover: Hahn, 2000.
- Ruf, Paul, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. Vol. 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg*. Munich: Beck, 1932.
- Ruf, Paul, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. Vol. 3.3, *Bistum Bamberg*. Munich: Beck, 1939.
- Rufinus of Aquileia. "Apologia contra Hieronymum." In *CCSL*, ed. Manlius Simonetti, vol. 20, 29–123. Turnhout: Brepols, 1961.
- "Sacramentarium Gelasianum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 74, 1049–244. Paris: Migne, 1850.
- Saint Ambrose. "De benedictionibus patriarcharum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 14, 671–94. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Ambrose. "Exameron." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.1, 1–261. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.
- Saint Ambrose. "De paradiso." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.1, 263–336. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.
- Saint Ambrose. "De bono mortis." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.1, 701–53. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.
- Saint Ambrose. "De Iacob et vita beata." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.2, 1–70. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.

- Saint Ambrose. "De Ioseph." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.2, 71–122. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.
- Saint Ambrose. "De interpellatione Iob et David." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.2, 209–96. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.
- Saint Ambrose. "Apologia David altera." In *CSEL*, ed. Carolus Schenkl, vol. 32.2, 357–408. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1897.
- Saint Ambrose. "Expositio Psalmi CXVIII." In *CSEL*, ed. Michael Petschenig, vol. 62. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1913.
- Saint Ambrose. "Explanatio Psalmorum XII." In *CSEL*, ed. Michael Petschenig, vol. 64. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1919.
- Saint Ambrose. "De fide." In *CSEL*, ed. Otto Faller, vol. 78. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1962.
- Saint Ambrose. "De incarnationis dominicae sacramento." In *CSEL*, ed. Otto Faller, vol. 79, 223–81. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1964.
- Saint Ambrose. "Epistulae." In *CSEL*, ed. Otto Faller, vol. 82.1. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1968.
- Saint Ambrose. "Epistularum liber decimus." In *CSEL*, ed. Michaela Zelzer, vol. 82.3, 1–140. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1982.
- Saint Ambrose. "Epistulae extra collectionem." In *CSEL*, ed. Michaela Zelzer, vol. 82.3, 141–311. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1982.
- Saint Ambrose. "Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam." In *CCSL*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1957.
- Saint Ambrose. "De officiis." In *CCSL*, ed. Mauritius Testard, vol. 15. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- Saint Augustine. "De Genesi contra Manichaeos." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 34, 173–220. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Augustine. "In Ioannis evangelium tractatus." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 35, 1379–976. Paris: Migne, 1841.
- Saint Augustine. "Sermones." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 38. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Augustine. "Sermones." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 39, 1493–718. Paris: Migne, 1846.
- Saint Augustine. "Contra Julianum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 44, 641–874. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Augustine. "Contra secundam Juliani responsionem." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 45, 1049–608. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Augustine. "Contra Faustum." In *CSEL*, ed. Iosephus Zycha, vol. 25, 249–797. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1891.
- Saint Augustine. "De Genesi ad litteram." In *CSEL*, ed. Iosephus Zycha, vol. 28.1, 1–456. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1894.
- Saint Augustine. "De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber." In *CSEL*, ed. Iosephus Zycha, vol. 28.1, 457–503. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1894.
- Saint Augustine. "Epistulae." In *CSEL*, ed. Al. Goldbacher, vol. 34.2. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1898.

- Saint Augustine. "De agone Christiano." In *CSEL*, ed. Iosephus Zycha, vol. 41, 99–138. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1900.
- Saint Augustine. "De sancta uirginitate." In *CSEL*, ed. Iosephus Zycha, vol. 41, 233–302. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1900.
- Saint Augustine. "De consensu evangelistarum." In *CSEL*, ed. Franciscus Weihrich, vol. 43. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1904.
- Saint Augustine. "Epistulae." In *CSEL*, ed. Al. Goldbacher, vol. 44. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1904.
- Saint Augustine. "De baptismo." In *CSEL*, ed. Michael Petschenig, vol. 51, 143–375. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1908.
- Saint Augustine. "Contra litteras Petiliani." In *CSEL*, ed. Michael Petschenig, vol. 52, 1–227. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1909.
- Saint Augustine. "Epistulae." In *CSEL*, ed. Al. Goldbacher, vol. 57. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1911.
- Saint Augustine. "Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos." In *CSEL*, ed. Ioannes Divjak, vol. 84, 1–52. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1971.
- Saint Augustine. "Soliloquiorum libri duo." In *CSEL*, ed. Wolfgangus Hörmann, vol. 89, 1–98. Vienna: Hoelder, Pichler, and Tempsky, 1986.
- Saint Augustine. "Confessiones." In *CCSL*, ed. Lucas Verheijen, vol. 27. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981.
- Saint Augustine. "Contra Academicos." In *CCSL*, ed. W.M. Green, vol. 29, 1–61. Turnhout: Brepols, 1970.
- Saint Augustine. "De magistro." In *CCSL*, ed. Klaus-D. Daur, vol. 29, 139–203. Turnhout: Brepols, 1970.
- Saint Augustine. "De doctrina Christiana." In *CCSL*, ed. Iosephus Martin, vol. 32. Turnhout: Brepols, 1962.
- Saint Augustine. "Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri VII." In *CCSL*, ed. Iohannes Fraipont, vol. 33, 379–465. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958.
- Saint Augustine. "In Iohannis evangelium tractatus." In *CCSL*, ed. Radbodus Willems, vol. 36. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.
- Saint Augustine. "Enarrationes in Psalmos." In *CCSL*, ed. Eligius Dekkers and Iohannes Fraipont, vol. 38–40. Turnhout: Brepols, 1956.
- Saint Augustine. "Sermones de uetere testamento." In *CCSL*, ed. Cyrillus Lambot, vol. 41. Turnhout: Brepols, 1961.
- Saint Augustine. "De diuersis quaestionibus." In *CCSL*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher, vol. 44A, 1–249. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Saint Augustine. "De ciuitate Dei." In *CCSL*, ed. Bernardus Dombart and Alphonsus Kalb, vol. 47–48. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955.
- Saint Augustine. "De Trinitate libri XV." In *CCSL*, ed. W.J. Mountain and Franciscus Glorie, vol. 50–50A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1968.
- Saint Cyprian. "De lapsis." In *CCSL*, ed. M. Bénévot, vol. 3, 217–42. Turnhout: Brepols, 1972.
- Saint Cyprian. "Ad Demetrianum." In *CCSL*, ed. Manlius Simonetti, vol. 3A, 33–51. Turnhout: Brepols, 1976.

- Saint Cyprian. "Epistularium." In *CCSL*, ed. G.F. Diercks, vol. 3B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.
- Saint Jerome. "Dialogus contra Luciferianos." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 23, 155–82. Paris: Vrayet, 1845.
- Saint Jerome. "Adversus Jovinianum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 23, 211–338. Paris: Vrayet, 1845.
- Saint Jerome. "Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 23, 355–96. Paris: Vrayet, 1845.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentaria in evangelium Matthaei." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 26, 15–218. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 26, 307–438. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentarii in librum Job." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 26, 619–802. Paris: Migne, 1845.
- Saint Jerome. "Interpretatio chronicae Eusebii Pamphili." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 27, 33–676. Paris: Migne, 1846.
- Saint Jerome. "Epistulae." In *CSEL*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, vol. 54–56. Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1910–1918.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentarioli in Psalmos." In *CCSL*, ed. Germain Morin, vol. 72, 163–245. Turnhout: Brepols, 1959.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentariorum in Esaia libri." In *CCSL*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 73–73A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV." In *CCSL*, ed. Franciscus Glorie, vol. 75. Turnhout: Brepols, 1964.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentariorum in Daniele libri III." In *CCSL*, ed. Franciscus Glorie, vol. 75A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1964.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentarii in prophetas minores." In *CCSL*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 76–76A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969–1970.
- Saint Jerome. "Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV." In *CCSL*, ed. David Hurst and Marcus Adriaen, vol. 77. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- Saint Jerome. "Homilia in Iohannem euangelistam." In *CCSL*, ed. Germain Morin, vol. 78, 517–23. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958.
- Saint Jerome. "Contra Rufinum." In *CCSL*, ed. P. Lardet, vol. 79. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.
- Saint Jerome. "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos." In *CCSL*, ed. C. Moreschini, vol. 80. Turnhout: Brepols, 1990.
- Sakcinski, Ivan Kukuljević, ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Vol. 1, *Ab anno 503 usque ad annum 1102*. Zagreb: Albrecht, 1874.
- Schiaparelli, Luigi, ed. *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1924.
- Schlee, Fridericus, ed. *Scholia Terentiana*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893.
- Sedulius. "Paschale carmen." In *CSEL*, ed. Iohannes Huemer, vol. 10, 14–146. Vienna: Gerold, 1885.
- Sedulius. "Paschale opus." In *CSEL*, ed. Iohannes Huemer, vol. 10, 175–303. Vienna: Gerold, 1885.

- Sedulius Scottus. "Collectanea in omnes beati Pauli epistolas." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 103, 9–270. Paris: Migne, 1864.
- Sedulius Scottus. "Explanationes in praefationes sancti Hieronymi ad evangelia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 103, 331–52. Paris: Migne, 1864.
- Sedulius Scottus. "In Donati artem maiorem." In *CCCM*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 40B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.
- Sedulius Scottus. "In Donati artem minorem." In *CCCM*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 40C, 1–54. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.
- Sedulius Scottus. "In Priscianum." In *CCCM*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 40C, 55–84. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.
- Sedulius Scottus. "Collectaneum miscellaneum." In *CCCM*, ed. Dean Simpson, vol. 67. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988.
- Sedulius Scottus. "Carmina." In *CCCM*, ed. I. Meyers, vol. 117. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.
- Sharpe, Richard, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson, and A.G. Watson, ed. *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*. London: British Library, 1996.
- Sickel, Theodor von, ed. *MGH: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*. Vol. 2.1, *Ottonis II. diplomata*. Hanover: Hahn, 1888.
- Sickel, Theodor von, ed. *MGH: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*. Vol. 2.2, *Ottonis III. diplomata*. Hanover: Hahn, 1893.
- Simon of Kéza. "Gesta Hungarorum." In *SRH*, ed. Sándor Domanovszky, vol. 1, 129–94. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937.
- Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel. "Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 102, 13–594. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel. "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 102, 689–932. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel. "Via regia." In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 102, 931–70. Paris: Migne, 1851.
- Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel. "Liber in partibus Donati." In *CCCM*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, Louis Holtz, and Adele Kibre, vol. 68. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986.
- Stiltingus, Joannes, Constantinus Suyskenus, Joannes Perierus, and Joannes Cleo, ed. *AASS Septembris*. Vol. 6. Paris and Rome: Palme, 1867.
- Szentpétery, Imre, ed. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*. Vol. 1, *Diplomata regum Hungariae ab anno MI. usque ad annum MCCLXX. complectens*. Budapest: MTA, 1923.
- Terentianus Maurus. "De litteris, de syllabis, de metris libri III." In *GL*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 6, 313–413. Leipzig: Teubner, 1874.
- Tertullian. "Scorpiacae." In *CSEL*, ed. Augustus Reifferscheid and Georgius Wissowa, vol. 20, 144–79. Prague and Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1890.
- Tertullian. "Ad nationes." In *CCSL*, ed. J.G.Ph. Borleffs, vol. 1, 9–75. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.
- Tertullian. "Apologeticum." In *CCSL*, ed. Eligius Dekkers, vol. 1, 77–171. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.
- Tertullian. "De anima." In *CCSL*, ed. J.H. Wasznik, vol. 2, 779–869. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

- Tessore, Dag, ed. *Stefano d'Ungheria: Esortazioni al figlio – Leggi e decreti*. Rome: Città Nuova, 2001.
- Thangmar of Hildesheim. “Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis.” In *MGH: Scriptores*, ed. Georg Pertz, vol. 4, 754–82. Hanover: Hahn, 1841.
- Theodulf of Orléans. “Fragmenta sermonum.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 105, 275–82. Paris: Migne, 1864.
- Theodulf of Orléans. “Carmina.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 105, 283–380. Paris: Migne, 1864.
- Thietmar of Merseburg. “Chronicon.” In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, vol. 9. Berlin: Weidmann, 1935.
- V. Kovács, Sándor, ed. *A magyar középkor irodalma* (The literature of medieval Hungary). Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1984.
- Venantius Fortunatus. “Carmina.” In *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi*, ed. Friedrich Leo, vol. 4.1, 1–292. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881.
- Venantius Fortunatus. “Vita sancti Martini.” In *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi*, ed. Friedrich Leo, vol. 4.1, 293–370. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881.
- “Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris.” In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Wilhelm Eberhard, vol. 58. Hanover: Hahn, 1899.
- “Vita sancti Ermengaudi.” In *AASS Novembris*, ed. Carolus De Smedt, vol. 2.1, 83–5. Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1894.
- “Vita sancti Odonis.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 133, 43–86. Paris: Migne, 1853.
- “Vita s. Willibrordi metrica.” In *AASS Novembris*, ed. Albertus Poncelet, vol. 3, 483–500. Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1910.
- Walafrid Strabo. “De rebus ecclesiasticis.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 114, 919–66. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Walafrid Strabo. “De visionibus Wettini.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 114, 1063–84. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Walafrid Strabo. “Hymnus de Agaunensibus martyribus.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 114, 1085–90. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Walafrid Strabo. “De hymno trium puerorum.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 114, 1105. Paris: Migne, 1852.
- Walther, Hans, ed. *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*. Vol. 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.
- Walther, Hans, and Paul Gerhard Schmidt, ed. *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi*. Vol. 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Webb, Clemens C.I., ed. *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*. Vol. 1–2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
- Weigle, Fritz, ed. *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1966.
- Wibald of Stablo. “Epistolae.” In *PL*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 189, 1087–458. Paris: Garnier, 1890.
- Widukind. “Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres.” In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Paul Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, vol. 60. Hanover: Hahn, 1935.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Wipo. "Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Harry Breslau, vol. 61, 1–62. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915.
- Wipo. "Proverbia." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Harry Breslau, vol. 61, 68–74. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915.
- Wipo. "Tetralogus." In *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. Harry Breslau, vol. 61, 75–86. Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915.
- Zeno of Verona. "Tractatus." In *CCSL*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 22. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971.

Secondary Literature

- ABELSON, Paul (1906), *The Seven Liberal Arts: A Study in Mediaeval Culture*. New York: Columbia University.
- ADAMIK, Tamás (1977–1978), “Bemerkungen zur Invectiva.” *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae: Sectio Classica* 5–6: 89–100.
- ADAMSKA, Anna (1999), “The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary and Bohemia).” In *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert, 165–90. Turnhout: Brepols.
- ADAMSKA, Anna (2000), “«From Memory to Written Record» in the Periphery of Medieval Latinitas: The Case of Poland in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.” In *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Heidecker, 83–100. Turnhout: Brepols.
- ADAMSKA, Anna (2002), “Les débuts de la littérature latine dans les pays de l’Europe du Centre-Est.” In *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur, vol. 1, 1–15. Turnhout: Brepols.
- ADKIN, Neil (1992), “*Hieronymus Ciceronianus*: The *Catilinarians* in Jerome.” *Latomus* 51.2: 408–20.
- AHL, Frederick M. (1968), “Pharsalus and the Pharsalia.” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 29.1–2: 124–61.
- ALTHOFF, Gerd (1999), “Friendship and Political Order.” In *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine, 91–105. Phoenix Mill: Sutton.
- ALTURO, Jesús (1996), “Les inventaires de livres en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècles.” *Scriptorium* 50.2: 370–9.
- AMSLER, Mark Eugene (1977), “The Theory of Latin *Etymologia* in the Early Middle Ages: From Donatus to Isidore.” *Dissertation Abstracts International A: Humanities and Social Sciences* 37.8: 5106.
- ANAGNINE, Eugenio (1958), *Il concetto di rinascita attraverso il medio evo (V–Xa sec.)*. Milan and Naples: Ricciardi.
- ANDERSON, William S. (1958), “Livy and Machiavelli.” *Classical Journal* 53.5: 232–5.
- ANGELOV, Dimităr (1997), “Der Bogumilismus in den Balkanländern und die Häresien in Frankreich und Italien im 11. Jahrhundert.” In *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Evangelos Konstantinou, 17–39. Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau.
- ANTIN, Paul (1963), “Autour du songe de saint Jérôme.” *Revue des Études Latines* 41: 350–77.
- ANTON, Hans Hubert (1968), *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*. Bonn: Röhrscheid.
- ANTON, Hans Hubert (1982), “Pseudo-Cyprian: De duodecim abusivis saeculi und sein Einfluss auf den Kontinent, insbesondere auf die karolingischen Fürstenspiegel.” In *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. Heinz Löwe, vol. 2, 568–617. Stuttgart: Klett and Cotta.
- ARNGART, Olof (1951–1952), “The Distichs of Cato and the Proverbs of Alfred.” *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 34: 95–118.

- ARNGART, Olof (1981), "The Durham Proverbs." *Speculum* 56.2: 288–300.
- AUER, Leopold (1971), "Die Kriegsdienst der Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern, 1., Der Kreis der Teilnehmer." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79.3–4: 316–407.
- AUERBACH, Erich (1993), *Literary Language & its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- AVENARIUS, Wilhelm (1956), "Sallust und die rhetorische Schulunterricht." *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere: Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 89–90.2–3: 343–52.
- BABCOCK, Robert G. (1993), *Reconstructing a Medieval Library: Fragments from Lambach*. New Haven, CT: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.
- BAEBLER, Johann (1885), "Ars, artes liberales, vox, littera, octo partes." In *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der lateinischen Grammatik im Mittelalter*, 28–66. Halle: Waisenhaus.
- BAGGE, Sverre (1987), *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- BAK, János M. (1973), "Medieval Symbolology of the State: Percy E. Schramm's Contribution." *Viator* 4: 33–63.
- BAK, János M. (1988), "Az Intelmek «vendégei»" (The "guests" of the Admonitions). *Világosság* 29.8–9: 556–8.
- BAK, János M. (1993a), "«Linguistic Pluralism» in Medieval Hungary." In *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. Marc Anthony Meyer, 269–79. London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press.
- BAK, János M. (1993b), "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000–1386 A.D.)" In *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons, 13–24. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- BAK, János M. (2000), "Some Recent Thoughts of Historians about Central Europe in 1000 A.D." *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 6: 65–71.
- BALÁZS, János (1980), *Magyar deákság: Anyanyelvünk és az európai modell* (Hungarian literacy: Hungarian language and the European model). Budapest: Magvető.
- BALDWIN, Charles Sears (1959), *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) Interpreted from Representative Works*. Gloucester, MA: Smith.
- BALLAIRA, Guglielmo (1989), *Prisciano e i suoi amici*. Turin: Giappichelli.
- BALOGH, József (1925), "Lautes und leises Beten." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 23.2: 345–8.
- BALOGH, József (1926), "«Voces Paginarum»: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens, 1–2." *Philologus* 82.1–2: 84–109, 202–40.
- BALOGH, József (1927a), "«Nemzet» és «nemzetköziség» Szent István intelmeiben" ("Nation" and "internationality" in the admonitions of Saint Stephen). *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 37.1–2: 1–10.
- BALOGH, József (1927b), "Szent István király, a «békefejedelem»: Adalék az «Intelmek» terminológiájához" (King Saint Stephen, the "prince of peace": on the terminology of the "Admonitions"). *Magyar Nyelv* 23.1–2: 452–61.
- BALOGH, József (1928), "Rex a recte regendo." *Speculum* 3.4: 580–2.

- BALOGH, József (1931), "Mit tudunk a szentistváni Intelmek szerzőjéről?" (What is known about the author of the Admonitions of Saint Stephen?). *Magyar Nyelv* 27.5–6: 158–65.
- BALOGH, József (1932), "A magyar királyság megalapításának világpolitikai háttere" (The world political background of the foundation of the kingdom of Hungary). *Századok* 66.4–6: 152–68.
- BALOGH, József (1938a), "Szent István «Intelmei»-nek forrásai" (The sources of the "Admonitions" of Saint Stephen). In *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján* (Jubilee studies on the nine hundredth anniversary of the death of King Saint Stephen), ed. Juszinián Serédi, vol. 2, 235–65. Budapest: MTA.
- BALOGH, József (1938b), "Santo Stefano d'Ungheria e l'idea di Roma." *Nuova Antologia* 73: 326–36.
- BALOGH, József (1938c), "The Political Testament of St. Stephen, King of Hungary." *Hungarian Quarterly* 4.3: 389–98.
- BALOGH, József (1943), "«Ratio» és «mos»: A római jog «megújulásának» nyomai a szentistváni Intelmekben" (*Ratio* and *mos*: the traces of the "renewal" of Roman law in the Admonitions of Saint Stephen). *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 67.3: 273–336.
- BALOGH, József (1944), "«... unius linguae uniusque moris regnum imbecille et fragile est»: Riflessioni sugli Ammonimenti di Santo Stefano, primo re d'Ungheria." *Corvina* 7.1: 46–54.
- BANFI, Florio (1947), "Vita di S. Gerardo da Venezia, vescovo di Csanád nel Leggendaro di Pietro Calò." *Janus Pannonius* 1.1: 223–41.
- BANFI, Florio (1948), "Vita di S. Gerardo da Venezia nel codice 1622 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova." *Benedictina* 2.3–4: 262–330.
- BÁNHÉGYI, B. Miksa (1996), "Bencés könyvkultúra a középkorban" (Benedictine book culture in the Middle Ages), *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 8.1–2: 15–23.
- BÁNHÉGYI, B. Miksa (2001), "Magyar bencés könyvtárak a középkorban" (Hungarian Benedictine libraries in the Middle Ages). In *Paradisum plantavit: Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* (*Paradisum plantavit: Benedictine monasteries in medieval Hungary*), ed. Imre Takács, 75–9. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság.
- BANNISTER, H.M. (1917), "Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church of Keynsham, with a List of Vestments and Books Possibly Belonging to Worcester." *English Historical Review* 32.3: 387–93.
- BARKER, Ernest (1923), "The Conception of Empire." In *The Legacy of Rome*, ed. Cyril Bailey, 45–89. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- BARNER, Gottlob (1889), *Comparantur inter se Graeci de regentium hominum virtutibus auctores*. Marburg: Schirring.
- BARRÉ, Henri (1963), "L'œuvre Mariale de Saint Gérard de Csanád." *Marianum* 25.3–4: 262–96.
- BARRÉ, Henri (1964), "Pro Fulberto." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 31.2: 324–30.
- BARTAL, Antonius (1901), *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- BARTONIEK, Emma (1934), "Corona és regnum" (*Corona and regnum*). *Századok* 68.7–8: 314–31.
- BARTONIEK, Emma (1940), *Codices manu scripti Latini*. Vol. 1, *Codices Latini medii aevi*. Budapest: OSzK.

- BATHYÁNY, Ignác (1827), *Leges ecclesiasticae regni Hungariae et provinciarum adiacentium*. Vol. 2. Claudiopolis: Typis Episcopalis.
- BAUMGARTEN, Ferencz (1906), "A saint gilles-i apátság összeköttetései Magyarországgal: Diplomatikai tanulmány" (The connections of the abbey of Saint Gilles with Hungary: a study in diplomatics). *Századok* 40.5: 389–411.
- BÄUML, Franz H. (1968), "Der Übergang mündlicher zur artes-bestimmten Literatur des Mittelalters: Gedanken und Bedenken." In *Fachliteratur des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Gerhard Eis*, ed. Gundolf Keil, Rainer Rudolf, Wolfram Schmitt, and Hans J. Vermeer, 1–10. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- BÄUML, Franz H. (1980), "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy." *Speculum* 55.2: 237–65.
- BEAUJOUAN, Guy (1972), "L'enseignement de «quadrivium»." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19.2: 639–67.
- BECK, Friedrich (1900), *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans*. Munich: Kastner & Lassen.
- BECK, Jan-Wilhelm (1996), *Zur Zuverlässigkeit der bedeutendsten lateinischen Grammatik: Die 'Ars' des Aelius Donatus*. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Stuttgart: Steiner.
- BEDDIE, James Stuart (1930), "The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries." *Speculum* 5.1: 3–20.
- BEER, Jeanette M.A. (1972), "A Mediaeval Cato: Virtus or Virtue." *Speculum* 47.1: 52–9.
- BEER, Rudolf (1907), "Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1." *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 155.3: 1–112.
- BEESON, Charles Henry (1913), "Die ausserspanische Isidorüberlieferung bis zur Mitte des IX. Jahrhunderts." In *Isidor-Studien*, 1–131. Munich: Beck.
- BEESON, Charles Henry (1922), "The Text Tradition of Donatus' *Commentary on Terence*." *Classical Philology* 17.4: 283–305.
- BEHREND, Frederick (1963), "Kingship and Feudalism according to Fulbert of Chartres." *Mediaeval Studies* 25: 93–9.
- BEHREND, Frederick (1970), "Two Spurious Letters in the Fulbert Collection." *Revue Bénédictine* 80.3–4: 253–75.
- BÉKEFI, Remig (1901), "Szent István király intelmei" (The admonitions of King Saint Stephen). *Századok* 35.10: 922–90.
- BÉKEFI, Remig (1902a), "Szent István király Intelmei" (The Admonitions of King Saint Stephen). *Századok* 36.8: 773–7.
- BÉKEFI, Remig (1902b), "Utolsó szó Szent István király Intelmei ügyében" (A last word regarding the Admonitions of King Saint Stephen). *Századok* 36.9: 872.
- BÉKEFI, Remig (1910), *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540). Budapest: MTA.
- BÉKESI, Emil (1896), "Magyar írók az Árpádházi királyok korában, 1." (Hungarian writers in the age of the kings of the Árpád dynasty, 1). *Katholikus Szemle* 10.3: 364–99.
- BENNETT, Alva Walter (1970), *Index verborum Sallustianus*. Hildesheim and New York: Olms.

- BENSON, Robert, CONSTABLE, Giles, and LANHAM, Carol Dana (1991), ed. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Medieval Academy of America.
- BENYIK, György (2001), "Pannónia se hallgasson: Szent Gellért püspök *Deliberatio* című művének forrásai" (*Et Pannonia non sileat: the sources of the Deliberatio of Bishop Saint Gerard*). *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 9.3: 121–6.
- BENZINGER, Josef (1968), *Invectiva in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*. Lübeck and Hamburg: Matthiesen.
- BERGES, Wilhelm (1938), *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*. Leipzig: Hiersemann.
- BERSCHIN, Walter (1980), *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*. Bern and Munich: Francke.
- BERSCHIN, Walter (2001), *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*. Vol. 4.2, *Ottotonische Biographie – Das hohe Mittelalter 920–1220 n. Chr.: 1070–1220 n. Chr.* Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BERTÉNYI, Iván (1960), "Beszámoló kandidátusi disszertációk vitáiról, 1." (Report on the discussions of dissertations of candidates, 1). *Századok* 94.5–6: 917–20.
- BERTÉNYI, Iván (1998), "A középkori művelődés" (Medieval culture). In *Magyar művelődéstörténet* (Cultural history of Hungary), ed. László Kósa, 54–135. Budapest: Osiris.
- BESSONE, Luigi, and LA CONTE, Maria Giovanna (1997), "Persistenza culturale dell'antico." *Atene e Roma* 42.2–3: 109–25.
- BETTEN, Francis S. (1923), "The Knowledge of the Sphericity of the Earth during the Earlier Middle Ages." *Catholic Historical Review* 3.1: 74–90.
- BEZOLD, Friedrich von (1962), *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus*. Aalen: Zeller.
- BEZZOLA, Gian Andri (1956), *Das ottonische Kaisertum in der französischen Geschichtsschreibung des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts*. Graz and Cologne: Böhlau.
- BIELER, Ludwig (1949), "Das Mittellatein als Sprachproblem." *Lexis* 2.1: 98–104.
- BILLANOVICH, Giuseppe (1975), "Milano, Nonantola, Brescia." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 321–52.
- BIRKÁS, Géza (1948), *Francia utazók Magyarországon* (French travelers in Hungary). Szeged: Universitas Szegediensis.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1938), "Elementarunterricht und *probationes pennae* in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters." In *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand: Presented upon the Completion of His Fortieth Year of Teaching*, ed. Leslie Webster Jones, 9–20. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1951), "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44.1–2: 27–55.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1966a), "Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen." In *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*. Vol. 2, *Das geistige Leben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels and Bernhard Bischoff, 233–54. Düsseldorf: Schwann.

- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1966b), "Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie." In *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. 1, 49–63. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1966c), "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla." In *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. 1, 171–94. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1966d), "Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften." In *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. 1, 273–88. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1967a), "Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters." In *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. 2, 77–115. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1967b), "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages." In *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. 2, 227–45. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1971), "Living with the Satirists." In *Classical Influences on European Culture a.d. 500–1500*, ed. Robert Ralph Bolgar, 83–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1972a), "Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19.1: 385–415.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1972b), "Das Güterverzeichnis des Klosters SS. Faustino e Giovita aus dem Jahre 964." *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 15: 53–61.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1975), "Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 59–86.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1981), "Das benediktinische Mönchtum und die Überlieferung der klassischen Literatur." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 92.3–4: 165–90.
- BISCHOFF, Bernhard (1994), "Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning." In *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, 93–114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BLACK, Antony (1992), *Political Thought in Europe 1250–1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BLACK, Robert (2001), *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BLAISE, Albert (1975), *Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- BLAISE, Albert (1994), *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- BLATT, Franz (1959), "Lucan and his Text." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 20: 47–67.
- BLOCH, Herbert (1972), "Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19.2: 563–605.

- BLOCH, R. Howard (1994), *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- BLÖSEL, Wolfgang (2000), "Die Geschichte des Begriffes *mos maiorum* von den Anfängen bis zu Cicero." In *Mos maiorum: Untersuchungen zu den Formen der Identitätsstiftung und Stabilisierung in der römischen Republik*, ed. Bernhard Linke and Michael Stemmler, 25–97. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- BLUM, Owen J. (1947), *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- BLUMENTHAL, Uta-Renate (1993), "History and Tradition in Eleventh-Century Rome." *Catholic Historical Review* 79.2: 185–96.
- BOAS, Marcus (1914), "De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione." *Mnemosyne* 42.1: 17–46.
- BODOR, András (1943), "Szent Gellért Deliberatio-jának főforrása" (The principal source of the *Deliberatio* of Saint Gerard). *Századok* 77.4–6: 173–227.
- BOGYAY, Tamás (1972), "Über den Stuhlweissenburger Sarkophag des hl. Stephan." *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 4: 9–26.
- BOLAFFI, Ezio (1958), *La critica filosofica e letteraria in Quintiliano*. Brussels: Latomus.
- BOLER, John (1978), "Augustine and Political Theory." *Mediaevalia* 4: 83–97.
- BOLGAR, Robert Ralph (1958), *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOLGAR, Robert Ralph (1982), "The Teaching of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages." In *Rhetoric Revalued: Papers from the International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, ed. Brian Vickers, 79–86. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies.
- BOLLÓK, János (1986), "Szent Imre alakja középkori krónikáinkban" (The image of Saint Emeric in the chronicles of medieval Hungary). In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. Erik Fügedi, 61–75. Budapest: Gondolat.
- BÓNIS, György (1956), *István király* (King Stephen). Budapest: Művelt Nép.
- BÓNIS, György (1959), "Válasz Váczy Péter «Néhány kérdésére»" (Reply to "Some questions" by Péter Váczy). *Századok* 93.2–4: 498–533.
- BONNER, Stanley F. (1966), "Lucan and the Declamation Schools." *American Journal of Philology* 87.3: 257–89.
- BORN, Lester Kruger (1928), "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals." *Speculum* 3.4: 470–504.
- BORN, Lester Kruger (1933), "The specula principis of the Carolingian Renaissance." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 12.3: 583–612.
- BORONKAI, Iván (1968), Review of *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XIV. században* (The formation of the Latin historiographic literature in Hungary from the eleventh to the fourteenth century), by J. Lajos Csóka. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 72.1: 97–103.
- BORONKAI, Iván (1980), Review of *Deákosság és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlatja* (Literacy and Europe: the foundations of Hungarian literary culture), by László Mezey. *Antik Tanulmányok* 27.2: 272–4.

- BORONKAI, Iván (1987–1991), ed. *LLMAH*. Vol. 1–2. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- BORONKAI, Iván, and BELLUS, Ibolya (1992), ed. *LLMAH*. Vol. 3. Budapest: Argumentum and Akadémiai Kiadó.
- BORONKAI, Iván, and SZOVÁK, Kornél (1993), ed. *LLMAH*. Vol. 4. Budapest: Argumentum.
- BORST, Arno (1953), *Die Katharer*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BORZSÁK, István (1979), “Les traditions latines du peuple hongrois (Esquisse).” *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1.1: 59–71.
- BORZSÁK, István (1996), “Horaz in Ungarn.” In *Zeitgenosse Horaz: Der Dichter und seine Leser seit zwei Jahrtausenden*, ed. Helmut Krasser and Ernst A. Schmidt, 207–19. Tübingen: Narr.
- BORZSÁK, István (1997), “Veriloquium.” In *Dragma: Válogatott tanulmányok* (Dragma: selected studies), 302–11. Budapest: Telosz.
- BORZSÁK, István (1998), “Latinità, cristianesimo e cultura ungherese.” In *La civiltà ungherese e cristianesimo*, ed. István Monok and Péter Sárközy, vol. 1, 256–64. Budapest: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság; Szeged: Scriptum.
- BOWMAN, Jeffrey A. (2002), “The Bishop Builds a Bridge: Sanctity and Power in the Medieval Pyrenees.” *Catholic Historical Review* 88.1: 1–16.
- BOYER, Blanche B. (1947), “Insular Contribution to Medieval Literary Tradition on the Continent.” *Classical Philology* 42.4: 209–22.
- BOYNTON, Susan (2000), “Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education.” In *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig, 7–20. London and New York: Leicester University Press.
- BRIGGS, Charles F. (2000), “Literacy, Reading, and Writing in the Medieval West.” *Journal of Medieval History* 26.4: 397–420.
- BROWN, Stephen F. (1996), “Theology and Philosophy.” In *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg, 267–87. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- BROWN, T.J. (1975), “An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Latin Authors in the British Isles from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century.” *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 237–93.
- BRUGNOLI, Giorgio (1965), “Donato e Girolamo.” *Vetera Christianorum* 2: 139–49.
- BRUNEL, Ghislain (1996), “Fulbert de Chartres en son temps.” In *Le temps de Fulbert*, ed. Monique Cazeaux and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 19–26. Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir.
- BRUNHÖLZL, Franz (1962), “Zur Überlieferung des Lukrez.” *Hermes* 90.1: 97–104.
- BRUNHÖLZL, Franz (1971), *Zum Problem der Casinenser Klassikerüberlieferung*. Munich: Fink.
- BRUNHÖLZL, Franz (1975), *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1, *Von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der karolingischen Erneuerung*. Munich: Fink.
- BRUNHÖLZL, Franz (1992), *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2, *Die Zwischenzeit vom Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Fink.
- BUC, Philippe (1994), *L'ambiguïté du Livre: Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au moyen âge*. Paris: Beauchesne.

- BUCHNER, Rudolf (1965), "Adams von Bremen geistige Anleihen bei der Antike." *Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch* 2: 96–101.
- BUCK, August (1963), "Gab es einen Humanismus im Mittelalter?" *Romanische Forschungen* 75.3–4: 213–39.
- BÜHRER-THIERRY, Geneviève (1997), *Évêques et pouvoir dans le royaume de Germanie: Les Églises de Bavière et de Souabe 876–973*. Paris: Picard.
- BUONOCORE, Marco (1996), ed. *Vedere i Classici: L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo medioevo*. Rome: Palombi.
- BÜREN, Veronika von (1992), "Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny du XI^e siècle reconstitué." *Scriptorium* 46.2: 256–67.
- BÜREN, Veronika von (1996), "Livy's Roman History in the Eleventh-Century Catalogue from Cluny: The Transmission of the First and Third Decades." In *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret M. Smith, 57–73. Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson and Lovelace; London: Red Gull Press.
- BURSILL-HALL, Geoffrey Leslie (1981), *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts*. Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt: Frommann and Holzboog.
- BUSCH, Stephan (2002), "Lautes und leises Lesen in der Antike." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 145.1: 1–45.
- BUSCHMANN, Erna (1963), "Ministerium Dei – idoneitas: Um ihre Deutung aus den mittelalterlichen Fürstenspiegeln." *Historisches Jahrbuch* 82: 70–102.
- BUTTENWIESER, Hilda (1942), "Popular Authors of the Middle Ages: The Testimony of the Manuscripts." *Speculum* 17.1: 50–5.
- BÜTTNER, Richard (1894), "Zur Überlieferung der vita Terentii in dem Commentare des Donatus." *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* 40: 73–5.
- CANAL, J.M. (1962), "Los sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres (†1028)." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 29: 33–51.
- CANETTI, Luigi (1999), "Gerardo di Csanád." In *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Vol. 53, 359–61. Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana.
- CANNING, Joseph (1996), *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300–1450*. London and New York: Routledge.
- CANTER, H.V. (1917–1918), "Rhetorical Elements in Livy's Direct Speeches, 1–2." *American Journal of Philology* 38.2–39.1: 125–51, 44–64.
- CANTIN, André (1975), *Les sciences séculières et la foi: Les deux voies de la science au jugement de S. Pierre Damien (1007–1072)*. Spoleto: CISAM.
- CANTIN, André (1997), *Foi et dialectique au XI^e siècle*. Paris: Cerf.
- CAPITANI, Ovidio (1965), "San Pier Damiani e l'istituto eremitico." In *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, ed. Cinzio Violante and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, 122–63. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.
- CAPIZZI, Antonio (1983), "Un apologo di Alcmeone crotoniate?" *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 42.1: 159–63.
- CAPLAN, Harry (1933), "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching." *Classical Philology* 28.2: 73–96.

- CARLYLE, Robert Warrand, and CARLYLE, Alexander James (1950), *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*. Vol. 3, *Political Theory from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth*. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood.
- CAVALLO, Guglielmo (1993), "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria." In *I bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, 495–612. Milan: Garzanti and Scheiwiller.
- CECCHETTI, Igino (1953), ed. *Roma nobilis: L'idea, la missione, le memorie, il destino di Roma*. Rome: Arte e Scienza.
- CENCETTI, Giorgio (1977), "Scritture e circolazione libraria nei monasteri benedettini." In *Libri e lettori nel medioevo: Guida storica e critica*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, 73–97. Rome and Bari: Laterza.
- CERVANI, Roberta (1984), "Considerazioni sulla diffusione dei testi grammaticali: La tradizione di Donato, Prisciano, Papias nei secoli XII–XV." *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 91: 397–421.
- CESSI, Roberto (1964), "Venezia e Bizancio nei primi secoli del governo ducale." In *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, ed. Georges Ostrogorsky, vol. 2, 63–78. Belgrade: Naučno Delo.
- CHANCE, Jane (1994), *Medieval Mythography: From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A.D. 433–1177*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- CHASE, Wayland Johnson (1922), *The Distichs of Cato: A Famous Medieval Textbook*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- CHASE, Wayland Johnson (1926), *The Ars Minor of Donatus: For One Thousand Years the Leading Textbook of Grammar*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- CHROUST, Anton-Hermann (1947), "The Corporate Idea and the Body Politic in the Middle Ages." *Review of Politics* 9.4: 423–52.
- CICOGNA, Emmanuele Antonio (1834), *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*. Vol. 4. Venice: Picotti.
- CIPOLLA, Carlo (1880), "I codici veronesi dei *Distichi* catoniani." *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* 8: 517–36.
- CIZEK, Alexandru N. (1994), *Imitatio et tractatio: Die literarisch-rhetorischen Grundlagen der Nachahmung in Antike und Mittelalter*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- CLANCHY, M.T. (1993), *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- CLARK, Albert C. (1921–1922), "The Reappearance of the Texts of the Classics." *Library* 2: 13–7.
- CLARK, Gillian (2001), "«Spoiling the Egyptians»: Roman Law and Christian Exegesis in Late Antiquity." In *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen, 133–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CLARKE, Martin Lowther (1996), *Rhetoric at Rome: A Historical Survey*. London and New York: Routledge.
- CLEMENS, Franciscus Iacobus (1856), *De scholasticorum sententia philosophiam esse theologiae ancillam commentatio*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- CLERVAL, A. (1895), *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge (Du V^e au XVI^e siècle)*. Paris: Garnier.
- COENS, Maurice (1958), "«Utriusque linguae peritus»: En marge d'un prologue de Thierry de Saint-Trond." *Analecta Bollandiana* 75.1: 118–50.

- COLETTI, Maria Laetitia (1982), "Citazioni latine come esempi di «barbarismus» nei commenti medievali irlandesi all'*Ars maior* di Donato." *Sandalion* 5: 283–99.
- COLOMBO TIMELLI, Maria (1996), *Traductions françaises de l'Ars minor de Donat au Moyen Âge (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)*. Florence: Nuova Italia.
- COMPARETTI, Domenico (1955), *Virgilio nel medio evo*. Vol. 1. Florence: Nuova Italia.
- CONLEY, Duane F. (1981), "The Stages of Rome's Decline in Sallust's Historical Theory." *Hermes* 109.3: 379–82.
- CONSTANTINESCU, Radu (1982), "Une formule slave pour le réception des Bogomiles." *Études Balkaniques* 18.2: 69–83.
- CONTI BIZZARRO, Ferruccio (1994), "Prisciano fra Oriente e Occidente." *Filologia Antica e Moderna* 7: 35–49.
- CONTRENI, John J. (1978), *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters*. Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft.
- CONTRENI, John J. (1992a), "Learning in the Early Middle Ages." In *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, I.1–21. Aldershot: Variorum.
- CONTRENI, John J. (1992b), "The Tenth Century: The Perspective from the Schools." In *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, XII.379–87. Aldershot: Variorum.
- COPELAND, Rita (1991), *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COPELSTON, Frederick (1959), *A History of Philosophy*. Vol. 2, *Mediaeval Philosophy: Augustine to Scotus*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne.
- CORNER, Flaminio (1758), *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello*. Padua: Manfrè.
- COYLE, Kevin J. (1995), "L'appel aux Pères dans la philosophie médiévale." In *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Carlos Bazán, Eduardo Andújar, and Léonard Sbrocchi, vol. 1, 45–64. New York, Ottawa, and Toronto: LEGAS.
- CRAIG, J.D. (1929), *Ancient Editions of Terence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CRAIG, J.D. (1930), "Priscian's Quotations from Terence." *Classical Quarterly* 24.2: 65–73.
- CREIZENACH, Th. (1864), *Die Aeneis, die vierte Eclogie und die Pharsalia im Mittelalter*. Frankfurt: Brönnner.
- CREMASCHI, Giovanni (1959), *Guida allo studio del latino medievale*. Padua: Liviana.
- CRISTANTE, Lucio (1997), "Dal tardoantico al medioevo: Il «De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii» di Marziano Capella e la tradizione delle artes nella scuola carolingia." In *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk – Dem Gedenken Helmut Beumann gewidmet*, ed. Hermann Schefers, 57–66. Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission.
- CROSAS LÓPEZ, Francisco (1998), *De diis gentium: Tradición clásica y cultura medieval*. New York: Lang.
- CROSLAND, Jessie (1930), "Lucan in the Middle Ages, with Special Reference to the Old French Epic." *Modern Language Review* 25.1: 32–51.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1957), "A legrégibb magyar könyvtár belső rendje (Pannonhalma a XI. században)" (The internal structure of the oldest Hungarian library: Pannonhalma in the eleventh century). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 73.1: 14–24.

- CSAPODI, Csaba (1969), "Die Aufstellung der Klosterbibliothek Pannonhalma (St. Martinsberg, Ungarn) im 11. Jahrhundert." *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 44: 308–12.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1974), "Les livres de Janus Pannonius et sa bibliothèque à Pécs." *Scriptorium* 28.1: 32–50.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1979), "Le catalogue de Pannonhalma, reflet de la vie intellectuelle des Bénédictins du XI^e siècle en Hongrie." In *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. Pierre Cockshaw, Monique-Cécile Garand, and Pierre Jodogne, vol. 1, 165–73. Gand: Story and Scientia.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1984a), "Ungarische Bibliotheksgeschichte: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Frieden von Szatmár (1711)." *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 59: 332–57.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1984b), "A középkori könyvtári katalógusok eszmetörténeti tükröződése" (The cultural reflection of medieval library catalogs). In *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely, 55–69. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1985), "A középkori magyarországi könyvtárak története" (A history of the libraries in medieval Hungary). In *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety, 19–33. Budapest: OSzK.
- CSAPODI, Csaba (1987), "A középkori könyvkultúra kibontakozása Magyarországon (1000–1400)" (The development of medieval book culture in Hungary, 1000–1400). In *Magyar könyvtártörténet* (Hungarian library history), ed. Miklós Vértessy, 9–43. Budapest: Gondolat.
- CSAPODI, Csaba, and CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, Klára (1994), *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (*Bibliotheca Hungarica: codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526*). Vol. 3, *Adatok elveszett kötetekről* (Data on lost volumes). Budapest: MTA Könyvtára.
- CSAPODI, Csaba, and CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, Klára (1995), *Ariadne: A középkori magyarországi irodalom kézíratainak lelőhelykatalógusa* (Ariadne: inventory of the manuscripts of the literature of medieval Hungary). Budapest: MTA Könyvtára.
- CSEREI, József (1884), *A classica philologia művelése hazánkban a XVII. századig* (Classical philology in Hungary up to the seventeenth century). Nagykanizsa: Wajdits.
- CSÓKA, J. Lajos (1942–1943), "Clunyi szellemű volt-e a magyar egyház a XI. században?" (Was the Hungarian Church under Cluniac influence in the eleventh century?). *Regnum* 5: 141–76.
- CSÓKA, J. Lajos (1964), "Szent István intelmeinek és törvényeinek szerzősége" (The authorship of the admonitions and laws of Saint Stephen). *Vigilia* 29.7: 453–62.
- CSÓKA, J. Lajos (1966), "Hartwik von Hersfeld: Ein Benediktiner-Diplomat im XI. Jh." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 77.1–4: 93–101.
- CSÓKA, J. Lajos (1967a), *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XIV. században* (The formation of the Latin historiographic literature in Hungary from the eleventh to the fourteenth century). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

- CSÓKA, J. Lajos (1967b), "I benedettini e l'inizio dei rapporti letterari italo-ungheresi." In *Italia ed Ungheria: Dieci secoli dei rapporti letterari*, ed. Mátyás Horányi and Tibor Klaniczay, 9–27. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- CSÓKA, J. Lajos (1980), *Geschichte des Benediktinischen Mönchtums in Ungarn*. Munich: Trofenik.
- CURTIUS, Ernst Robert (1939), "Die Musen im Mittelalter, 1., Bis 1100." *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 59.2: 129–88.
- CURTIUS, Ernst Robert (1947), "Das mittelalterliche Bildungswesen und die Grammatik." *Romanische Forschungen* 60.1: 1–26.
- D'ANNA, Gabriella (1969), "Abelardo e Cicerone." *Studi Medievali* 10.1: 333–419.
- D'ELIA, Salvatore (2001), "Su Roma e l'impero romano nel *De civitate Dei* di Agostino di Ippona." In *L'idea di Roma nella cultura antica*, ed. Fausto Giordano, 351–78. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
- DA MILANO, Ilarino (1947), "Le eresie popolari dal secolo XI nell'Europa occidentale." *Studi Gregoriani* 1.2: 43–89.
- DALLEY, Monette (1995), "Le *Liber de rectoribus Christianis* de Sedulius Scotus et les vertus du roi comme moyen d'action politique." In *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Carlos Bazán, Eduardo Andújar, and Léonard Sbrocchi, vol. 3, 1486–92. New York, Ottawa, and Toronto: LEGAS.
- DAMERINI, Gino (1969), *L'Isola e il Cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore*. Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini.
- DANIEL, Natalia (1973), *Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek: Studien über Schriftcharakter und Herkunft der nachkarolingischen und ottonischen Handschriften einer bayerischen Bibliothek*. Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft.
- DAVID, Pierre (1939a), *Les bénédictins et l'ordre de Cluny dans la Pologne médiévale*. Paris: Belles Lettres.
- DAVID, Pierre (1939b), "Un Credo cathare?" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 35.2: 756–61.
- DAVIS, Ruby (1933), "Bede's Early Reading." *Speculum* 8.2: 179–95.
- DAY, Gerald W. (1984), "Italian Churches in the Byzantine Empire to 1204." *Catholic Historical Review* 70.3: 379–88.
- DE MARCO, Maria (1952a), "Una nuova redazione del commento di Remigio d'Auxerre ai «Dicta Catonis»." *Aevum* 26.5: 466–7.
- DE MARCO, Maria (1952b), "Remigii inedita." *Aevum* 26.6: 495–517.
- DE MARCO, Maria (1962), "Aspetti del «cursus» nella «Quinta Catilinarina» e nella «Responsio Catilinae»." *Aevum* 36.3–4: 320–1.
- DE RIJK, L.M. (1963), "On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St. Gall from c. 850 – c. 1000." *Vivarium* 1.1: 35–86.
- DE RIJK, L.M. (1965), "Enkyklios paideia: A Study of its Original Meaning." *Vivarium* 3.1: 24–93.
- DEÉR, József (1933), Review of *A clunyi reform hatása Magyarországon* (The influence of the Cluniac reform in Hungary), by Ferenc Galla. *Századok* 67.9–10: 437–45.
- DEÉR, József (1938), "La royauté chrétienne de saint Étienne." *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31.8: 107–18.

- DEÉR, József (1942a), "Die Entstehung des ungarischen Königtums." *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 8.1–2: 52–148.
- DEÉR, József (1942b), "A szentistváni Intelmek kérdéséhez" (On the problem of the Admonitions of Saint Stephen), *Századok* 76.9–10: 435–52.
- DEÉR, József (1971), "Aachen und die Herrschersitze der Arpaden." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79.1–2: 1–56.
- DEÉR, József (1993–1996), "Entstehung des ungarischen Nationalbewusstsein." *East Central Europe* 20–23.2: 11–53.
- DEKKERS, Eligius, and GAAR, Aemilius (1995), *Clavis patrum Latinorum*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- DELÉANI, Simone (2002), "Les caractères du latin chrétien." In *Il latino e i cristiani: Un bilancio all'inizio del terzo millennio*, ed. Enrico dal Covolo and Manlio Sodi, 3–25. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- DELLA CASA, Adriana (1982), "L'attività scolastica dei monaci benedettini." In *San Benedetto nel suo tempo*. Vol. 2, 667–71. Spoleto: Centro di Studi.
- DENGLER-SCHREIBER, Karin (1979), *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
- DENIFLE, Henricus, and CHATELAIN, Aemilius (1896), "Inventarium codicum manuscriptorum capituli Dertusensis." *Revue des Bibliothèques* 6: 1–61.
- DÉRI, Balázs (1991a), "Szent Gellért-szövegproblémák" (Textual problems of Saint Gerard). In *Egyházak a változó világban* (Churches in the changing world), ed. István Bárdos and Margit Beke, 387–9. Esztergom: Komárom-Esztergom Megye Önkormányzata.
- DÉRI, Balázs (1991b), "A «Tekintetes lakodalmas», az «Isteni nászda» és a «Nemes ének» – avagy a Szent Gellért-szövegkiadás műhelyéből" (The "Respected wedding," the "Divine epithalamium," and the "Noble song": from the workshop of the Saint Gerard edition). *Annales Universitatis Litterarum et Artium Miskolciensis* 1: 58–67.
- DEROLEZ, Albert (1979), *Les catalogues de bibliothèques*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel C. (1976), "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana." In *De Isidoro al siglo XI: Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular*, 141–201. Barcelona: Albir.
- DICKEY, Eleanor (2002), *Latin Forms of Address: From Plautus to Apuleius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DICKEY, Mary (1968), "Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries." *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6: 1–41.
- DIETZ, David B. (1995), "Historia in the Commentary of Servius." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 125: 61–97.
- DIHLE, Albrecht (1989), *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur des Kaiserzeit: Von Augustus bis Justinian*. Munich: Beck.
- DOLBEAU, François (1989), "Noms de livres." In *Études sur la vocabulaire intellectuel au moyen âge*. Vol. 2, *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, ed. Olga Weijers, 79–99. Turnhout: Brepols.
- DÖLLINGER, Ignaz (1890), *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1, *Geschichte der gnostisch-manichäischen Sekten im früheren Mittelalter*. Munich: Beck.
- DONOVAN, Mortimer J. (1961), "Priscian and the Obscurity of the Ancients." *Speculum* 36.1: 75–80.

- DOWIAT, Jerzy (1973), "Le livre et l'école dans l'éducation des seigneurs laïcs en Pologne et dans les pays voisins du X^e au XII^e siècle." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 28: 7–22.
- DRESSLER, Fridolin (1954), *Petrus Damiani: Leben und Werk*. Rome: Herder.
- DRONKE, Peter (1969), "New Approaches to the School of Chartres." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6: 117–40.
- DU CANGE, Carolus Dufresne (1840–1846), *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*. Vol. 1–6. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- DUBY, Georges (1980), *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- DUCHET-SUCHAUX, Monique, and LEFÈVRE, Yves (1984), "Les noms de la Bible." In *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, 13–23. Paris: Beauchesne.
- DUE, Otto Steen (1962), "An Essay on Lucan." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 23.1–2: 68–132.
- DUGGAN, Anne J. (2001), "Classical Quotations and Allusions in the Correspondence of Thomas Becket: An Investigation of their Sources." *Viator* 32: 1–22.
- DUNBABIN, Jean (1985), "The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." In *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, 31–41. Oxford: Blackwell.
- DÜRIG, Walter (1954), "Die Bruchstücke einer Sammlung von Benedictiones Gallicanae in Clm 29163." *Revue Bénédictine* 69: 168–75.
- DUTTON, Paul Edward, and LUHTALA, Anneli (1994), "Eriugena in Priscianum." *Mediaeval Studies* 56: 153–63.
- DZIATZKO, Karl (1894), "Zu Terentius im Mittelalter." *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* 40: 465–77.
- EARL, Donald Charles (1961), *The Political Thought of Sallust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- EARL, Donald Charles (1967), *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- EBERHARDT, Otto (1977), *Via regia: Der Fürstenspiegel Smaragdus von St. Mihiel und seine literarische Gattung*. Munich: Fink.
- ECKHARDT, Sándor (1936), "I. Endre francia zarándokai" (The French pilgrims of Andrew I). *Magyar Nyelv* 32.1–2: 38–40.
- EDER, Christine Elisabeth (1972), "Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee im frühen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Tegernseer Handschriften." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 83.1–2: 6–155.
- EHLERS, Joachim (1996), "Dom- und Klosterschulen in Deutschland und Frankreich im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert." In *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz, and Michael Walter, 29–52. Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau.
- ELDER, John Petersen (1947), "The Missing Portions of the *Commentum Einsidlense* on Donatus's *Ars Grammatica*." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 56: 129–60.
- ELLSPERMANN, Gerard L. (1985), *The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning*. Cleveland: Zubal.

- ENDRES, Josef Anton (1906), "Die Dialektiker und ihre Gegner im 11. Jahrhundert." *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 19.1: 20–33.
- ENDRES, Josef Anton (1910), *Petrus Damiani und die weltliche Wissenschaft*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- ENDRES, Josef Anton (1913a), "Studien zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik." *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 26.1: 85–93.
- ENDRES, Josef Anton (1913b), "Studien zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik: Gerard von Czanád." *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 26.3: 349–59.
- ENDRES, Josef Anton (1915), *Forschungen zur Geschichte der frühmittelalterlichen Philosophie*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- ENGEL, Johann Christian (1813), *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs*. Vol. 1. Vienna: Camesina.
- ENGEL, Pál (2001), *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London and New York: Tauris.
- ENGELBERT, Pius (1995), "Rodulfus Glaber und die Ungarn." In *Unum omnes in Christo in unitatis servitio: Miscellanea Gerardo J. Békés OSB octogenario dedicata*, ed. András Szennay and Ádám Somorjai, vol. 1, 473–88. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság.
- ENGLISCH, Brigitte (1994), *Die artes liberales im frühen Mittelalter (5.–9. Jh.): Das Quadrivium und der Komputus als Indikatoren für Kontinuität und Erneuerung der exakten Wissenschaften zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- ERDÉLYI, László (1902), "A zalavári apátság legrégibb oklevelei" (The oldest charters of the abbey of Zalavár). In *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 7, 451–508. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- ERDÉLYI, László (1936), "Szent Mór és kora" (Saint Maurus and his time). In *Szent Mór emlékkönyv* (Studies dedicated to the memory of Saint Maurus), ed. Damján Vargha, 253–78. Pécs: Pécsi Egyházmegye.
- ERDÉLYI, László (1941), *Ötven historikus szentistváni emlékművei: Sok tisztázott alapvető probléma* (Monuments to Saint Stephen by fifty historians: many basic problems solved). Szeged: Szeged Városi Nyomda és Könyvkiadó.
- ERDMANN, Carl (1938), *Studien zur Briefliteratur Deutschlands im elften Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- ERDMANN, Carl (1941), "Leonitas: Zur mittelalterlichen Lehre von Kursus, Rhythmus und Reim." In *Corona quernea: Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, 15–28. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- ERDMANN, Carl (1943), "Das ottonische Reich als Imperium Romanum." *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 6.2: 412–41.
- ERKENS, Franz-Reiner (1993), "... more Grecorum conregnantem instituere vultis? Zur Legitimation der Regentschaft Heinrichs des Zänkers im Thronstreit von 984." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27: 273–89.
- ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, Alain (1996), "La Cathédrale de Fulbert." In *Le temps de Fulbert*, ed. Monique Cazeaux and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 121–8. Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir.

- ÉRSZEGI, Géza (1985), "A pannonhalmi bencés apátság javainak összeírása, 1093" (The inventory of the goods of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, 1093). In *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety, 84. Budapest: OSZK.
- ÉRSZEGI, Géza (1988), "Szent István görög nyelvű okleveléről" (On the Greek charter of Saint Stephen). *Levéltári Szemle* 38.3: 3–13.
- ÉRSZEGI, Géza (1995), "Exsecutio maiorum – exsecutio filiorum." In *Kelet és nyugat között: Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (Between East and West: historical studies in honor of Gyula Kristó), ed. László Koszta, 161–8. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely.
- ÉRSZEGI, Géza (2001), "The Emergence of the Hungarian State, the Adoption and Consolidation of Christianity (970–1095)." In *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, ed. István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay, and Maria Antonietta De Angelis, 27–38. Budapest: Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference.
- ESPOSITO, Paolo (1977), "Sulla fortuna delle opere minori di Lucano attraverso i secoli." *Vichiana* 6.1–2: 85–92.
- EVANS, Gillian R. (1975), "The Influence of Quadrivium Studies in the Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Schools." *Journal of Medieval History* 1.2: 151–64.
- EVANS, Gillian R. (1977), "Studium discendi: Otloh of St. Emmeram and the Seven Liberal Arts." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 44: 29–54.
- FALKENSTEIN, Ludwig (1998), *Otto III. und Aachen*. Hanover: Hahn.
- FALVY, Zoltán (1961), "Spielleute im mittelalterlichen Ungarn." *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1.1–2: 29–64.
- FANNING, Steven (1998), "Rex and Tyrannus in Roman Historiographical Tradition – Livy, Cicero, Josephus and Gildas." *Majestas* 6: 3–18.
- FARRELL, Joseph (2001), *Latin Language and Latin Culture from Ancient to Modern Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FARRÉS, J. Closa (1983), "La versió catalana inèdita dels Disticha Catonis de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla: Transcripció i comentari." *Anuario de Filología* 9: 9–33.
- FASSLER, Margot (2000), "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the *Stirps Jesse*: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and its Afterlife." *Speculum* 75.2: 389–434.
- FEHÉR, Géza (1927), "A bolgár egyház kísérletei és sikerei hazánkban" (The attempts and achievements of the Bulgarian Church in Hungary). *Századok* 61.1–3: 1–20.
- FEKETE, Lajos (1936), *Platon Magyarországon* (Plato in Hungary). Pécs: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó.
- FENCZIK, István (1918), *Szent Gellért helye a filozófia történelmében* (The place of Saint Gerard in the history of philosophy). Budapest: Magyar Királyi Tudományegyetemi Nyomda.
- FERRARI, Michele Camillo (2000), "Zwei mittelalterliche Schulmeister, Horaz und das Schicksal des Bildungssystems: Gozechins von Mainz *Epistola ad Walcherum* und Meinhard von Bamberg." In *Hortus litterarum antiquarum: Festschrift für Hans Armin Gärtner zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Andreas Haltenhoff and Fritz-Heiner Mutschler, 107–23. Heidelberg: Winter.

- FERRARI, Mirella (1975), "Centri di trasmissione: Monza, Pavia, Milano, Bobbio." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 303–20.
- FERRÉ, Michel (2002), "La genèse du second livre des *Institutions* de Cassiodore." *Latomus* 61.1: 152–62.
- FICHTENAU, Heinrich (1998), *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages 1000–1200*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- FICKERMANN, Norbert (1957), "Thietmar von Merseburg in der lateinischen Sprachtradition: Für eine sprachgerechtere Edition seiner Chronik." *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 6: 21–76.
- FILLITZ, Hermann (1992), "Reale und fiktive Insignien als Symbole kaiserlicher Romherrschaft." In *Rom im hohen Mittelalter: Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge, 5–12. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- FINÁLY, Henrik (1884), *A latin nyelv szótára* (Dictionary of the Latin language). Budapest: Franklin Társulat.
- FINCH, Chauncey E. (1968), "Catalogues and Other Manuscripts from Lorsch." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99: 165–79.
- FISCHLI, Walter (1944), *Studien zum Fortleben der Pharsalia des M. Annaeus Lucanus*. Luzern: Haag.
- FISKE, Adele M. (1965), "Hieronymus Ciceronianus." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 96: 119–38.
- FLECKENSTEIN, Josef (1964), "Rex canonicus: Über Entstehung und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Königskanonikates." In *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. Peter Classen and Peter Scheibert, vol. 1, 57–71. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- FLECKENSTEIN, Josef (1966), *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*. Vol. 2, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- FOLIGNO, Cesare (1929), *Latin Thought during the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- FOLZ, Robert (1969), *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*. London: Arnold.
- FONTAINE, Jacques (1959), *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*. Vol. 2. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- FONTAINE, Jacques (1966), "La diffusion carolingienne du *De natura rerum* d'Isidore de Séville d'après les manuscrits conservés en Italie." *Studi Medievali* 7.1: 108–27.
- FONTAINE, Jacques (1988a), "Isidorus Varro Christianus?" In *Tradition et actualité chez Isidore de Séville*, III.89–106. London: Variorum.
- FONTAINE, Jacques (1988b), "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie." In *Tradition et actualité chez Isidore de Séville*, XII.271–300. London: Variorum.
- FONTAINE, Jacques (1988c), "Grammaire sacrée et grammaire profane: Isidore de Séville devant l'exégèse biblique." In *Tradition et actualité chez Isidore de Séville*, XIII.311–29. London: Variorum.
- FRANK, Karl Suso (1990), "Augustinus: Sapienter et eloquenter dicere." In *Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur*, ed. Gregor Vogt-Spira, 257–69. Tübingen: Narr.

- FRANK, Karl Suso (1997), "Fiktive Mündlichkeit als Grundstruktur der monastischen Literatur." In *Viva vox und ratio scripta: Mündliche und schriftliche Kommunikationsformen im Mönchtum des Mittelalters*, ed. Clemens M. Kasper and Klaus Schreiner, 51–74. Münster: Lit.
- FRANK, Tenney (1909), "Some Classical Quotations from the Middle Ages." *Classical Philology* 4.1: 82–3.
- FREDBORG, Karin Margareta (1995), "The Unity of the Trivium." In *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. Sten Ebbesen, 325–38. Tübingen: Narr.
- FRIED, Johannes (2000), "Antikes Erbe und christliche Tradition – die erste Jahrtausendwende in der Geschichte." In *Europas Mitte um 1000: Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, ed. Alfried Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz, vol. 1, 42–9. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- FRITZ, Józef (1908), "Fragmenty rękopisu Pryscyana z XI. wieku" (Manuscript fragments of Priscian from the eleventh century). *Eos* 14: 83–4.
- FROEHDE, Oskar (1895), "Die griechischen und römischen Quellen der *Institutiones* des Priscianus." *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* 65: 279–88.
- FÜGEDI, Erik (1975), "Das mittelalterliche Königreich Ungarn als Gastland." In *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, ed. Walter Schlesinger, 471–507. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- FÜGEDI, Erik (1986), "Les intellectuels et la société dans la Hongrie médiévale." In *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, VII.1–14. London: Variorum.
- FÜGEDI, Erik, and BAK, János M. (1998), "Fremde Ritter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn." *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae* 3: 3–17.
- FUHRMANN, Horst (1984), "Rex canonicus – Rex clericus?" In *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz, 321–6. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- GÄBE, Sabine (1999), *Otloh von St. Emmeram: "Liber de temptatione cuiusdam monachi" – Untersuchung, kritische Edition und Übersetzung*. Bern: Lang.
- GABOTTO, Ferdinando (1891), *Appunti sulla fortuna di alcuni autori romani nel medio evo*. Verona: Tedeschi.
- GABRIEL, Astrik L. (1944), *Les rapports dynastiques franco-hongrois au moyen âge*. Budapest: Imprimerie de l'Université.
- GABRIEL, Astrik L. (1954), *Virágos Pannónia: A magyar szentek élete* (Flourishing Pannonia: lives of the Hungarian saints). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.
- GABRIEL, Astrik L. (1962), *The Conversion of Hungary to Christianity*. New York: n.p.
- GABRIEL, Astrik L. (1969), *The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony: Commemoration of the 500th and 600th Anniversary of their Foundation 1367–1467–1967*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Mediaeval Institute; Frankfurt: Knecht.
- GAGNÉR, Anders (1936), *Florilegium Gallicum: Untersuchungen und Texte zur Geschichte der mittellateinischen Florilegienliteratur*. Lund: Gleerup.
- GALGÓCZI, György (1954), Review of *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic problems of the Latin literature of Hungary in the Árpád age), by János Horváth. *Magyar Nyelv* 50.3–4: 234–42.

- GALLA, Ferenc (1931), *A clunyi reform hatása Magyarországon* (The influence of the Clunian reform in Hungary). Pécs: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó.
- GALLA, Ferenc (1938), "La France et la conversion des Hongrois." *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31.8: 146–54.
- GÁLLOS, Ferenc (1975), *Tanulmányok Pécsvárad középkori történetéhez* (Studies on the medieval history of Pécsvárad), Pécs: Pécsvárad Nagyközség Tanácsa.
- GANZ, David (1990), *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- GÄRTNER, Thomas (2002), "Zwei Beispiele unerkannter hagiographischer Lucanbenutzung." *Analecta Bollandiana* 120: 65–9.
- GARIÉPY, Robert J. (1968), "Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic." *Mediaeval Studies* 30: 90–105.
- GARIÉPY, Robert J. (1976), "Lupus of Ferrières' Knowledge of Classical Latin Literature." In *Hommages à André Boutemy*, ed. Guy Cambier, 152–8. Brussels: Latomus.
- GASC, Hélène (1986), "Gerbert et la pédagogie des arts libéraux à la fin du dixième siècle." *Journal of Medieval History* 12.2: 111–21.
- GAWLICK, G. (1966), "Cicero in der Patristik." *Studia Patristica* 9: 57–62.
- GEARY, Patrick J. (1994), *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- GEARY, Patrick J. (2002), *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- GELLRICH, Jesse M. (1985), *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.
- GELUMBECKAITE, Jolanta (1999), "St. Jerome: Christian or Ciceronian Latin – Evidence from the Syntax of his Writings." In *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*, ed. Hubert Petersmann and Rudolf Kettmann, vol. 5, 375–80. Heidelberg: Winter.
- GENEST, Jean-François (1996), "Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Bobbio." In *Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac: Le pape de l'an mil*, ed. D'Olivier Guyotjeannin and Emmanuel Pouille, 151–60. Paris: École des Chartes.
- GERICS, József (1982), "Az 1040-es évek magyar történetére vonatkozó egyes források kritikája, 1–2." (Analysis of some sources of the history of Hungary in the 1040s, 1–2). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 98.3–4: 186–97, 299–313.
- GERICS, József (1986), "Auslegung der Nacherzählung mittelalterlicher Quellen in unserer Zeit (Bischof Sankt Gerhard von Tschanad über König Aba)." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32.3–4: 335–48.
- GERICS, József (1989), "Zu den Quellen der gesellschaftlichen Ideologie in Ungarn nach dem Tod des Heiligen Stephan." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32.3–4: 431–63.
- GERICS, József (2001), "The Presence of Early Political Science in the Age of Stephen." In *Saint Stephen and his Country*, ed. Attila Zsoldos, 111–8. Budapest: Lucidus.
- GERICS, József, and LADÁNYI, Erzsébet (1996), "A Szentszék és a magyar állam a 11. században" (The Holy See and the Hungarian state in the eleventh century). In *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve* (A thousand years of relations between Hungary and the Holy See), ed. István Zombori, 9–20. Budapest: METEM.

- GERSTINGER, Hans (1948), *Bestand und Überlieferung der Literaturwerke des griechisch-römischen Altertums*. Graz: Kienreich.
- GESSLER, Jean (1935), "Une bibliothèque scolaire du XI^e siècle d'après le catalogue provenant de l'abbaye d'Anchin." *Antiquité Classique* 4.1: 49–116.
- GEYER, Bernhard (1928), ed. *Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*. Vol. 2, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie*. Berlin: Mittler.
- GHELLINCK, Joseph de (1938), "Les bibliothèques médiévales." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 65.1: 36–55.
- GHELLINCK, Joseph de (1939), *Littérature latine au moyen âge*. Vol. 2, *De la Renaissance carolingienne à saint Anselme*. Paris: Bloud & Gay.
- GHELLINCK, Joseph de (1948), *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*. Bruges: De Tempel; Brussels: Édition Universelle; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- GIBSON, Margaret (1972), "Priscian, «Institutiones grammaticae»: A Handlist of Manuscripts." *Scriptorium* 26.1: 105–24.
- GIBSON, Margaret (1977), "The Collected Works of Priscian: The Printed Editions 1470–1859." *Studi Medievali* 18.1: 249–60.
- GIBSON, Margaret (1979), "The Early Scholastic «Glosule» to Priscian, «Institutiones Grammaticae»: The Text and its Influence." *Studi Medievali* 20.1: 235–54.
- GIBSON, Margaret (1989–1990), "Boethius in the Tenth Century." *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 24–25: 117–24.
- GIBSON, Margaret (1992), "Milestones in the Study of Priscian, circa 800 – circa 1200." *Viator* 23: 17–33.
- GIBSON, Margaret (1993), "The Artes in the Eleventh Century." In *'Artes' and Bible in the Medieval West*, I.121–6. Aldershot: Variorum.
- GIESEBRECHT, Guilielmus (1845), *De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis medii aevi saeculis*. Berlin: Gaertner.
- GILMARTIN, Kristine (1975), "A Rhetorical Figure in Latin Historical Style: The Imaginary Second Person Singular." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 105: 99–121.
- GIOCARNIS, Kimon (1966), "Bernard of Cluny and the Antique." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27.3–4: 310–48.
- GLARE, P.G.W. (1982), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- GLAUCHE, Günter (1970), *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekannons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Munich: Ardeo-Gesellschaft.
- GLAUCHE, Günter (1972), "Die Rolle der Schulautoren im Unterricht von 800 bis 1100." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19.2: 617–36.
- GLAUCHE, Günter (1998), "Schulunterricht und Wissenschaftspflege in den Klöstern Südbayerns im Spiegel ausgewählter Handschriften." In *Gli umanissimi medievali*, ed. Claudio Leonardi, 159–70. Florence: SISMEL.
- GLAUCHE, Günter (2000), *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising*. Vol. 1, *Clm. 6201–6316*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- GLENN, Justin (2001), "Echoes of Aeneid 11 in Einhard's Vita Karoli Magni 9." *Classical World* 94.2: 179–82.

- GLÜCK, Jenő (1978), "Cîteva considerații preliminare privind lucrarea «Deliberatio» (sec. al XI-lea)" (Some preliminary considerations on the work *Deliberatio*: eleventh century). *Ziridava* 10: 189–96.
- GLÜCK, Jenő (1979), "Une source précieuse de l'histoire de la Roumanie: Le manuscrit «Deliberatio» (XI^e siècle)." *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 18.2: 259–75.
- GLÜCK, Manfred (1967), *Priscians Partitiones und ihre Stellung in der spätantiken Schule*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- GODMAN, Peter (1987), *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- GOEZ, Werner (1958), *Translatio imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Tübingen: Mohr and Siebeck.
- GOLDBERG, Max Otto (1883), *Die catonischen Distichen während des Mittelalters in der englischen und französischen Literatur*. Vol. 1, *Der englische Cato*. Leipzig: Joachim & Jüstel.
- GOMPF, Ludwig (1973), "Figmenta poetarum." In *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Alf Önnersfors, Johannes Rathofer, and Fritz Wagner, 53–62. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- GONSETTE, Jean (1956), *Pierre Damien et la culture profane*. Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain.
- GÖRICH, Knut (1993), *Otto III.: Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus: Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- GÖSSMANN, Elisabeth (1974), *Antiqui und Moderni im Mittelalter: Eine geschichtliche Standortbestimmung*. Munich, Paderborn, and Vienna: Schöningh.
- GOTOFF, H.C. (1966), "The Textual Tradition of Lucan in the Ninth Century." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71: 319–21.
- GOTTLIEB, Theodor (1890), "Anordnung der Bibliotheken im Mittelalter." In *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 299–329. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- GRABMANN, Martin (1909), *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*. Vol. 1, *Die scholastische Methode von ihren ersten Anfängen in der Väterliteratur bis zum Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg: Herder.
- GRABMANN, Martin (1926), "Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Übersetzungen der Schriften des Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita." In *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*. Vol. 1, 449–68. Munich: Hueber.
- GRABMANN, Martin (1936), "Der Einfluss des heiligen Augustinus auf die Verwertung und Bewertung der Antike im Mittelalter." In *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*. Vol. 2, 1–24. Munich: Hueber.
- GRAF, Arturo (1882–1883), *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*. Vol. 1–2. Turin: Loescher.
- GRAHAM, Hugh F. (1968), "Latin in Hungary." *Classical Journal* 63.4: 163–5.
- GRANT, John N. (1986), *Studies in the Textual Tradition of Terence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- GRÉGOIRE, Réginald (1967), "Gérard (saint), évêque de Csanád." In *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Vol. 6, 264–5. Paris: Beauchesne.
- GRIERSON, Ph. (1940), "Les livres de l'abbé Seiworld de Bath." *Revue Bénédictine* 56: 96–116.
- GRUNDMANN, Herbert (1958), "Litteratus – illitteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 40.1: 1–65.
- GRUNDMANN, Herbert (1963), "Oporet et haereses esse: Das Problem der Ketzerei im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Bibelexegese." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 45.2: 129–64.
- GULLICK, Michael (1995), "How Fast Did Scribes Write? Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts." In *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg, 39–58. Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson and Lovelace; London: Red Gull Press.
- GUOTH, Kálmán (1938), "A magyarországi latinság helye az egyetemes latinságban" (The place of Hungarian Latinity in universal Latinity). In *Emlékkönyv Szentpéter Imre születése hatvanadik évfordulója ünnepére* (Jubilee studies on the sixtieth birthday of Imre Szentpéter), ed. L. Bernát Kumorovitz and Loránd Szilágyi, 169–82. Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó.
- GUOTH, Kálmán (1942), "Egy forrás két történet szemlélet tükrében" (A source in the mirror of two historical concepts). *Századok* 76.1–3: 43–64.
- GUOTH, Kálmán (1943), "Megoldandó kérdések az Intelmekben" (Unsolved problems in the Admonitions). *Századok* 77.1–3: 1–40.
- GYÓNI, Mátyás (1947), "L'Église orientale dans la Hongrie du XI^e siècle." *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 25.3: 42–9.
- GYÖRFFY, György (1969), "Zu den Anfängen der ungarischen Kirchenorganisation auf Grund neuer quellenkritischer Ergebnisse." *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 7: 79–113.
- GYÖRFFY, György (1971), "Die Nordwestgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im XI. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung des «*ducatus Sclavoniae*»." In *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay*, ed. Pierre Brière, 295–313. Braga: Cruz.
- GYÖRFFY, György (1977), *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work). Budapest: Gondolat.
- GYÖRFFY, György (1984), "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei im 11. Jahrhundert." *Archiv für Diplomatik* 30: 88–96.
- GYÖRFFY, György (1988), "Szent István történeti kutatásunkban" (Saint Stephen in the historical research). In *Szent István és kora* (Saint Stephen and his time), ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos, 18–22. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete.
- HABEL, Edwin, and GRÖBEL, Friedrich (1989), *Mittelateinisches Glossar*. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- HADOT, Ilsetraut (1997), "Geschichte der Bildung: artes liberales." In *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie*, ed. Fritz Graf, 17–34. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.
- HAGENDAHL, Harald (1947), "Methods of Citation in Post-Classical Latin Prose." *Eranos* 45: 114–28.
- HAGENDAHL, Harald (1958), *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*. Göteborg: Elanders.
- HAGENDAHL, Harald (1966), "Zu Augustins Beurteilung von Rom in De civitate Dei." *Wiener Studien* 79: 509–16.

- HAGENDAHL, Harald (1974), "Jerome and the Latin Classics." *Vigiliae Christianae* 28.3: 216–27.
- HAJDU, Tibor (1902), "Sz. Gellért «Deliberatio» cz. művének méltatása" (An evaluation of the *Deliberatio* of St. Gerard). In *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1, 381–97. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- HALLETT, Judith P. (1970), "«Over Troubled Waters»: The Meaning of the Title *Pontifex*." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101: 219–27.
- HALM, Karl, THOMAS, Georg, and MEYER, Wilhelm (1873), *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*. Vol. 1.3. Munich: Bibliotheca Regia.
- HALM, Karl, KEINZ, Friedrich, and THOMAS, Georg (1876), *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Monacensis*. Vol. 2.2, *Codices num. 11001–15028 complectens*. Munich: Bibliotheca Regia.
- HAMESSE, Jacqueline (1989), "Le vocabulaire de la transmission orale des textes." In *Études sur la vocabulaire intellectuel au moyen âge*. Vol. 2, *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, ed. Olga Weijers, 168–94. Turnhout: Brepols.
- HAMESSE, Jacqueline (1990), "Le vocabulaire des florilèges médiévaux." In *Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge*. Vol. 3, *Méthodes et instruments du travail intellectuel au moyen âge*, ed. Olga Weijers, 209–30. Turnhout: Brepols.
- HAMILTON, Bernard (1979), "The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the Tenth Century." In *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)*, 1.5–26. London: Variorum.
- HAMILTON, George L. (1909), "Theodulus: A Mediaeval Textbook." *Modern Philology* 7.2: 169–85.
- HAMMER, William (1944), "The Concept of the New or Second Rome in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 19.1: 50–62.
- HAMZA, Gábor (1995–1996), "Die Gesetzgebung Stephans des heiligen und Europa." *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 22: 27–34.
- HÄNEL, Gustav (1847), "Zweiter Bericht des Dr. G. Heine in Berlin über seine litterarische Reise in Spanien." *Serapeum* 8.6: 81–95.
- HANELL, Krister (1945), "Bemerkungen zu der politischen Terminologie des Sallustius." *Eranos* 43: 263–76.
- HARING, Nicholas M. (1972), "Commentaries on the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed." *Mediaeval Studies* 34: 208–52.
- HARTMANN, Wilfried (1974), "«Modernus» und «antiquus»: Zur Verbreitung und Bedeutung dieser Bezeichnungen in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert." In *Antiqui und Moderni: Traditionsbewusstsein und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, 21–39. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.
- HARTMANN, Wilfried (1976), "Formen und Wege mittelalterlicher Konzilsüberlieferung, 1., Die Konzile der Karolingerzeit." In *Mittelalterliche Textüberlieferungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung*, ed. Horst Fuhrmann, 42–8. Munich: MGH.
- HARTMANN, Wilfried (1997), "Rhetorik und Dialektik in der Streitschriftenliteratur des 11./12. Jahrhunderts." In *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Johannes Fried, 73–95. Munich: Oldenbourg.

- HARVEY, Paul B. (1998), "Saints and Satyrs: Jerome the Scholar at Work." *Athenaeum* 86.1: 35–56.
- HÄSE, Angelika (2002), *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch: Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- HASKINS, Charles H. (1909), "A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 20: 75–94.
- HAVAS, László (1983), "La conception organique de l'histoire sous l'Empire et ses origines." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 19: 99–106.
- HAVAS, László (1997), "À propos de la première théorie d'état en Hongrie (L'Admonition de Saint Étienne à son fils, Émeric)." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 33: 175–87.
- HAVAS, László (2001a), "L'influence de l'historiographie latine classique sur le commencement de la littérature latine en Hongrie." In *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Amadeo Di Francesco, 83–103. Rome: Calamo.
- HAVAS, László (2001b), "La Hongrie de Saint Étienne entre l'Occident et l'Orient." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41.1–2: 175–92.
- HAVAS, László (2001c), "Die Geschichtskonzeption Antonio Bonfinis." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 37: 87–107.
- HAVAS, László (2002a), "A Szent István-féle *Intelmek* és lehetséges bizánci irodalmi háttere" (The *Admonitions* of Saint Stephen and its possible Byzantine literary background). In *Kultúrák találkozása: Ünnepi tanulmányok Olajos Terézia professzornő tiszteletére* (Meeting of cultures: jubilee studies in honor of Professor Terézia Olajos), ed. Ferenc Makk, 49–62. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely.
- HAVAS, László (2002b), "Sallustius kéziratok hagyományozódásához: Újabb szempontok a Szent Istvánnak tulajdonított «Intelmek» forrásaihoz" (On the manuscript tradition of Sallust: new aspects of the sources of the "Admonitions" attributed to Saint Stephen). *Könyv és Könyvtár* 24: 5–32.
- HAVAS, László (2002–2003), "La monarchie et la *translatio imperii* en Hongrie au tournant du premier millénaire apr. J.-C." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 38–39: 127–42.
- HAVAS, László (2004), "II. Szilveszter pápa és a Szent István-i Magyarország" (Pope Sylvester II and the Hungary of Saint Stephen). *Vigilia* 69.1: 2–12.
- HAYE, Thomas (1998), "Rhetorische Lehrbücher und oratorische Praxis: Einige Bemerkungen zu den lateinischen Reden des hohen Mittelalters." *Mittelalter* 3.1: 45–54.
- HAYE, Thomas (1999), *Oratio: Mittelalterliche Redekunst in lateinischer Sprache*. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill.
- HAZELTON, Richard (1957), "The Christianization of «Cato»: The *Disticha Catonis* in the Light of Late Mediaeval Commentaries." *Mediaeval Studies* 19: 157–73.
- HAZELTON, Richard (1960), "Chaucer and Cato." *Speculum* 35.3: 357–80.
- HEINZER, Felix (1982), "Neues zu Gerhard von Csanád: Die Schlusschrift einer Homiliensammlung." *Südost-Forschungen* 41: 1–7.

- HEINZER, Felix, and STAMM, Gerhard (1984), *Die Handschriften von St. Peter in Schwarzwald*. Vol. 2, *Die Pergamenthandschriften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- HELDMANN, Konrad (1993), *Sallust über die römische Weltherrschaft: Ein Geschichtsmodell im Catilina und seine Tradition in der hellenistischen Historiographie*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- HÉLIN, Maurice (1951), "Recherche des sources et tradition littéraire chez les écrivains latins du moyen âge." In *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J.* Vol. 2, *Moyen âge – Époques moderne et contemporaine*, 407–20. Gembloux: Duculot.
- HELLER, John L. (1943), "Nenia paignion." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 74: 215–68.
- HELLGARDT, Ernst (1973), *Zum Problem symbolbestimmter und formalästhetischer Zahlenkomposition in mittelalterlichen Literatur: Mit Studien zum Quadrivium und zur Vorgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Zahlendenkens*. Munich: Beck.
- HELLMANN, Siegmund (1906), *Sedulius Scottus*. Munich: Beck.
- HELLMANN, Siegmund (1932), "Einhard's literarische Stellung." *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27.1: 40–110.
- HEN, Yitzhak (1998), "The Uses of the Bible and the Perception of Kingship in Merovingian Gaul." *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3: 277–89.
- HENRIET, Patrick (2000), *La parole et la prière au Moyen Âge: Le Verbe efficace dans l'hagiographie monastique des XI^e et XII^e siècles*. Brussels: De Boeck Université.
- HERRMANN, Benedikt (1929), "Zur Wortbedeutung von «orator» im Frühmittelalter: Beitrag zu den Gebetsverbrüderungen der Karolingerzeit." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 47: 352–76.
- HEXTER, Ralph (1987), "Latinitas in the Middle Ages: Horizons and Perspectives." *Helios* 14.2: 69–92.
- HIRSCH, Georgius (1684), *Menenius Agrippa apologo seditiosam plebem Romanam e monte sacro in urbem revocans*. Altdorf: Meyer.
- HLAVÁČEK, Ivan (1979), "Alte Handschriftenbesitzervermerke, mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge und die mittellateinische Literatur." *Philologus* 123.1: 186–91.
- HLAVÁČEK, Ivan (1983), "Die Formung der westslawischen Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekskultur unter dem Einfluss der lateinischen Kirche." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 30.2: 701–37.
- HOFFMANN, Hartmut (1998), "Die Historien Richers von Saint-Remi." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 54.2: 445–532.
- HOFMAN, Rijcklof (1998), "Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance." *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 8.1: 128–31.
- HOFMANN, J.B., and SZANTYR, Anton (1965), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. Munich: Beck.
- HOFMEISTER, Adolf (1912), "Studien über Otto von Freising, 1., Der Bildungsgang Ottos von Freising, 2." *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 37.2–3: 633–768.
- HÖHNE, Ernst (1927), *Die Geschichte des Sallusttextes im Altertum gezeigt an den beiden Monographien*. Munich: Höfling.

- HOLL, Béla (1992), "Spiritualitas dominorum ultramontanorum: Sulla poesia medievale liturgica in Ungheria e sul suo riflesso europeo." In *Storia religiosa dell'Ungheria*, ed. Adriano Caprioli and Luciano Vaccaro, 123–37. Milan: Casa di Matrona; Gazzada: Fondazione Ambrosiana Paolo VI.
- HOLLOWAY, Julia Bolton (1992), "Slaves and Princes: Terence through Time." In *The Influence of the Classical World on Medieval Literature, Architecture, Music, and Culture: A Collection of Interdisciplinary Studies*, ed. Fidel Fajardo-Acosta, 34–53. Lewiston, NY: Mellen.
- HOLOPAINEN, Toivo J. (1996), *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century*. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill.
- HOLTZ, Louis (1977a), "La typologie des manuscrits grammaticaux latins." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 7: 247–69.
- HOLTZ, Louis (1977b), "A l'école de Donat, de saint Augustin à Bède." *Latomus* 36.2: 522–38.
- HOLTZ, Louis (1981), *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e–IX^e siècle) et édition critique*. Paris: CNRS.
- HOLTZ, Louis (1986), "Le contexte grammatical du défi à la grammaire: Grégoire et Cassiodore." In *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, and Stan Pellistrandi, 531–40. Paris: CNRS.
- HOLTZ, Louis (1989–1990), "Les nouvelles tendances de la pédagogie grammaticale au X^e siècle." *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 24–25: 163–73.
- HOLTZ, Louis (1997), "Alcuin et la réception de Virgile du temps de Charlemagne." In *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk – Dem Gedenken Helmut Beumann gewidmet*, ed. Hermann Schefers, 67–80. Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission.
- HOLTZ, Louis (2000), "Priscien dans la pédagogie d'Alcuin." In *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Mario De Nonno and Paolo De Paolis, vol. 1, 289–326. Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino.
- HOLUB, József (1938), Review of *SRH*, ed. Imre Szentpétery. *Századok* 72.3: 360–5.
- HOLUB, József (1959), "Bonipertus." *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 4: 97–101.
- HÓMAN, Bálint (1925), *A forráskutatás és forráskritika története* (A history of the research and criticism of sources). Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat.
- HÓMAN, Bálint (1938), "La conversion du peuple hongrois et les bénédictins." *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31.8: 139–45.
- HORVÁTH, J. Gyula (1981), "A pécsi egyházmegye kezdetei" (The beginnings of the Pécs diocese), In *A pécsi egyházmegye schematismusa (Schematismus of the Pécs diocese)*, ed. Imre Csigi and István Kneip, 11–51. Pécs: Kneip.
- HORVÁTH, János, Sr. (1931), *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* (The beginnings of Hungarian literary culture from Saint Stephen to Mohács). Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság.
- HORVÁTH, János (1954), *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic problems of the Latin literature of Hungary in the Árpád age). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- HORVÁTH, János (1956), "Legrégibb magyarországi latin verses emlékeink" (The oldest Latin poetic texts of Hungary). *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 60.1: 1–19.
- HOSIUS, Carolus (1907), *De imitatione scriptorum Romanorum imprimis Lucani*. Greifswald: Kunike.

- HUGHES, Kevin L. (2000), "The «Arts Reputed Liberal»: Augustine on the Perils of Liberal Education." In *Augustine and Liberal Education*, ed. Kim Paffenroth and Kevin L. Hughes, 95–107. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- HULLEY, Karl Kelchner (1943), "Light Cast by St. Jerome on Certain Palaeographical Points." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 54: 83–92.
- HUNT, Richard William (1941–1943), "Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, 1., Petrus Helias and His Predecessors." *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1: 194–231.
- HUNT, Richard William (1971), "The Deposit of Latin Classics in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." In *Classical Influences on European Culture a.d. 500–1500*, ed. Robert Ralph Bolgar, 51–5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HUNT, Richard William (1975), ed. *The Survival of Ancient Literature*. Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- HUNYADI, Zsolt (2000), "Signs of Conversion in Early Medieval Charters." In *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood, 105–13. Turnhout: Brepols.
- HURLBUT, Stephen A. (1933), "A Forerunner of Alexander de Villa-Dei." *Speculum* 8.2: 258–63.
- HUSZTI, József (1939), *A Szent István korabeli latinság* (Latinity at the time of Saint Stephen). Budapest: Stephaneum.
- HUSZTI, József (1942), "Livius Magyarországon" (Livy in Hungary). *Olasz Szemle* 1.3: 342–59.
- HÜTTIG, Albrecht (1990), *Macrobius im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- HUYGENS, R.B.C. (1953), "Accessus ad auctores, 1–2." *Latomus* 12.3–4: 296–311, 460–84.
- HUYGENS, R.B.C. (1954a), "Notes sur le *Dialogus super auctores* de Conrad de Hirsau et le *Commentaire sur Théodule* de Bernard d'Utrecht." *Latomus* 13.3: 420–8.
- HUYGENS, R.B.C. (1954b), "Remigiana." *Aevum* 28.4: 330–44.
- HUYGENS, R.B.C. (1967), "Textes latins du XI^e au XIII^e siècle." *Studi Medievali* 8.1: 451–503.
- HYMA, Albert (1930), *The Youth of Erasmus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- IBRÁNYI, Ferenc (1938), "Szent Gellért teológiája" (The theology of Saint Gerard). In *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján* (Jubilee studies on the nine hundredth anniversary of the death of King Saint Stephen), ed. Jusztiánián Serédi, vol. 1, 493–556. Budapest: MTA.
- ILLMER, Detlef (1971), *Formen der Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter: Quellenstudien zur Frage der Kontinuität des abendländischen Erziehungswesens*. Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft.
- ILLMER, Detlef (1976), "*Totum namque in sola experientia usuque consistit*: Eine Studie zur monastischen Erziehung und Sprache." In *Mönchtum und Gesellschaft im Frühmittelalter*, ed. Friedrich Prinz, 430–55. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- INNES, Matthew (1997), "The Classical Tradition in the Carolingian Renaissance: Ninth-Century Encounters with Suetonius." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3.3: 265–82.
- IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique (2001), "Constructions chrétiennes d'un espace politique." *Moyen Age* 107.1: 49–69.
- IRIGOIN, Jean (1975), "La culture grecque dans l'occident latin du VII^e au XI^e siècle." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 425–46.

- IRMSCHER, Johannes (1997), "Otto III. und Byzanz." In *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Evangelos Konstantinou, 207–29. Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau.
- IRVINE, Martin (1994), *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory 350–1100*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- IRWIN, T.H. (1999), "Splendid Vices? Augustine for and against Pagan Virtues." *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 8.2: 105–27.
- ISING, Erika (1970), *Herausbildung der Grammatik der Volkssprachen in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Studien über den Einfluss der lateinischen Elementargrammatik des Aelius Donatus De octo partibus orationis ars minor*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- ISTVÁNYI, Géza (1940), "Die mittellateinische Philologie in Ungarn." *Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 4.1: 206–23.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1937), "László mester esztergomi prépost könyvtára 1277-ben" (The library of Master Ladislas, provost of Esztergom in 1277). *Theologia* 4: 216–26.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1942a), "Griechische Kirche und griechisches Mönchtum im mittelalterlichen Ungarn." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 8.1–2: 183–94.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1942b), "Szent Gellért görög műveltségének problémája" (The problem of the Greek culture of Saint Gerard). *Értekezések a Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztály Köréből* 26.3: 221–38.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1942c), "Szent Gellért Deliberatio-ja: Problémák és feladatok" (The *Deliberatio* of Saint Gerard: problems and perspectives). *Századok* 76.9–10: 497–500.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1949), "La Hongrie entre Byzance et Rome." *Coup d'Oeil à l'Est* 2.1–2: 22–36.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1955), "Gerardus Moresanus, der Erzengel Uriel und die Bogomilen." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21.1–2: 143–6.
- IVÁNKA, Endre (1959), "Das «Corpus Areopagiticum» bei Gerhard von Csanád (†1046)." *Traditio* 15: 205–22.
- JACHMANN, Günther (1924), *Die Geschichte des Terenztexes im Altertum*. Basel: Reinhardt.
- JACKSON, Richard A. (1994), "Who Wrote Hincmar's Ordines?" *Viator* 25: 31–52.
- JACOB, E.F. (1932), "Some Aspects of Classical Influence in Mediaeval England." *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 10: 1–27.
- JACOBSEN, Peter Christian (1967), Review of *Untersuchungen zur 'Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum' des Gerhard von Csanád*, by Gabriel Silági. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 4: 282–3.
- JAEGER, C. Stephen (1987), "Cathedral Schools and Humanist Learning, 950–1150." *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 61.4: 659–616.
- JAEGER, C. Stephen (1992), "Orpheus in the Eleventh Century." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 27: 141–68.
- JAEGER, C. Stephen (1994), *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- JAKÓ, Zsigmond (1976), "Könyv és könyvtár az erdélyi magyar művelődésben" (Book and library in the Hungarian culture of Transylvania). In *Írás, könyv, értelmiség: Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* (Writing, book, intellectuals: studies on the history of Transylvania), 284–304. Bucharest: Kriterion.

- JÁNOSI, Monika (1978), "A Szent István törvényeit tartalmazó kódexek" (The codices containing the laws of Saint Stephen). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 94.3–4: 225–54.
- JANSON, Tore (1964), *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- JANSON, Tore (1975), *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- JEANEU, Édouard (1960), "Macrobe, source du platonisme chartrain." *Studi Medievali* 1.1: 3–24.
- JEANEU, Édouard (1973), "Deux rédactions des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscien." In *Lectio philosophorum: Recherches sur l'Ecole de Chartres*, 335–70. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- JEANEU, Édouard (1975), "L'héritage de la philosophie antique durant le haut moyen âge." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 15–54.
- JEANEU, Édouard (1979), "Jean Scot Érigène et le grec." *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 41: 5–50.
- JEANEU, Édouard (1997), "Les maîtres chartrains." In *Monde médiévale et société chartraine*, ed. Jean-Robert Armogathe, 97–111. Paris: Picard.
- JEEP, Ludwig (1908–1909), "Priscianus: Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Römischen Literatur, 1–2." *Philologus* 67.1–68.1: 12–51, 1–51.
- JELENYI, István (1984), "Adalékok legendáink dogma- és liturgiátörténeti vizsgálatához" (On the dogmatic and liturgical study of the Hungarian legends). In *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely, 227–34. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- JENNINGS, Margaret (1974), "Lucan's Medieval Popularity: The Exemplum Tradition." *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 16.2–3: 215–33.
- JESSEN, Julius (1870), "Lucretius im Mittelalter." *Philologus* 30: 236–8.
- JEUDY, Colette (1971), "La tradition manuscrite des *Partitiones* de Priscien et la version longue du commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 1: 123–43.
- JEUDY, Colette (1972), "L'*Institutio de nomine, pronomine et verbo* de Priscien: Manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 2: 73–144.
- JOHNSON, Van (1945), "Excudent alii." *Classical Weekly* 38.12: 95–6.
- JÓNAS, Ilona (1997), "Les débuts de l'organisation de l'Église de Hongrie." In *Gerbert l'européen*, ed. Nicole Charbonnel and Jean-Eric Iung, 263–72. Aurillac: La Haute-Auvergne.
- JONES, Leslie Webber (1945), "The Influence of Cassiodorus on Mediaeval Culture." *Speculum* 20.4: 433–42.
- JOTISCHKY, Andrew (2002), *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Past in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- JUHÁSZ, Kálmán (1930a), "Gerhard der Heilige Bischof von Marosburg." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 48: 1–35.
- JUHÁSZ, Kálmán (1930b), "Szent Imre herceg nevelője" (The instructor of Prince Saint Emeric). *Katholikus Szemle* 44.4: 342–8.
- KANTOROWICZ, Ernst H. (1957), *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- KAPITÁNYFY, István (1980), Review of *Deákság és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* (Literacy and Europe: the foundations of Hungarian literary culture), by László Mezey. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84.4: 529–36.
- KAPITÁNYFY, István (1985), “Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita latin fordításának töredéke a budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtárban” (The fragment of the Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita in the University Library in Budapest). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101.2: 133–7.
- KAPITÁNYFY, István (2003), *Hungarobyzantina: Bizánc és a görögség középkori magyarországi forrásokban* (*Hungarobyzantina: Byzantium and the Greeks in the sources of medieval Hungary*). Budapest: Typotex.
- KARÁCSONYI, Béla (1974), “Néhány kronológiai probléma középkori elbeszélő forrásaink szövegében” (Some chronological problems in the narrative sources of medieval Hungary). In *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései* (Critical problems of the sources of medieval Hungary), ed. János Horváth and György Székely, 213–28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- KARÁCSONYI, János (1887), *Szent Gellért csanádi püspök élete és művei* (The life and works of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád). Budapest: Franklin Társulat.
- KARÁCSONYI, János (1894), “Szent Gellért püspök müncheni kódexe” (The Munich codex of Bishop Saint Gerard). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 2.1: 10–3.
- KARÁCSONYI, János (1925), *Szent Gellért csanádi püspök és vértanú élete* (The life of the bishop and martyr Saint Gerard of Csanád). Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- KARDOS, Tibor (1941), *Középkori kultúra, középkori költészet: A magyar irodalom keletkezése* (Medieval culture, medieval poetry: the origins of Hungarian literature). Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat.
- KARPAT, Josef (1961), “Corona regni Hungariae im Zeitalter der Arpaden.” In *Corona regni: Studien über die Krone als Symbol des Staates im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. Manfred Hellmann, 225–348. Weimar: Böhlau.
- KASTER, Robert A. (1980), “The Grammarian’s Authority.” *Classical Philology* 75.3: 216–41.
- KASTER, Robert A. (1988), *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- KATONA, István (1779), *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum et exterorum scriptorum concinnata*. Vol. 1, *Complectens res gestas S. Stephani, Petri, Samuelis Abae*. Pest: Weingand and Koepf.
- KAVANAGH, Bernard J. (2000), “Pontifices, Bridge-Making and Ribezzo Revisited.” *Glotta* 76.1–2: 59–65.
- KEMPSHALL, Matthew S. (1995), “Some Ciceronian Models for Einhard’s Life of Charlemagne.” *Viator* 26: 11–37.
- KENNEDY, George A. (1972), *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World 300 B.C. – A.D. 300*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- KENNEDY, George A. (1995), “Attitudes toward Authority in the Teaching of Rhetoric before 1050.” In *Rhetoric and Pedagogy: Its History, Philosophy and Practice – Essays in Honor of James J. Murphy*, ed. Winifred Bryan Horner and Michael Leff, 65–71. Mahwah, NJ, and Hove, UK: Erlbaum.

- KER, Neil Ripley (1976), "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library." In *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, 23–49. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- KLANICZAY, Gábor (1994), "Eretnekségek" (Heresies). In *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)* (Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: the ninth to the fourteenth century), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk, 195–6. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- KLANICZAY, Gábor (2002), *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KLANICZAY, Gábor, and MADAS, Edit (1996), "La Hongrie." In *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart, vol. 2, 103–60. Turnhout: Brepols.
- KLANICZAY, Tibor (1964), "A törvények és az Intelmek" (The laws and the Admonitions). In *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* (A history of Hungarian literature until 1600), ed. Tibor Klaniczay, 52–4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- KLANICZAY, Tibor (1980), Review of CCCM. Vol. 49, ed. Gabriel Silagi. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84.4: 544–6.
- KLEIN, Josef (1876), "Zu den versus Scoti cuiusdam de alphabeto." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 31.3: 465–9.
- KLINKENBERG, Hans Martin (1956), "Über karolingische Fürstenspiegel." *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7.2: 82–98.
- KLINKENBERG, Hans Martin (1959), "Der Verfall des Quadriviums im frühen Mittelalter." In *Artes liberales von den antiken Bildung zur Wissenschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Joseph Koch, 1–32. Leiden and Cologne: Brill.
- KNEEPKENS, C.H. (1974), "Priscianus Apostata en Sanctus Donatus." *Hermeneus* 45.4: 258–68.
- KNEEPKENS, C.H. (1995), "The Priscianic Tradition." In *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. Sten Ebbesen, 239–64. Tübingen: Narr.
- KOESTLER, Erna (1932), *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von Satzrhythmus und Wortstellung bei Sallust*. Bern: Buehler.
- KÖHN, Rolf (1986), "Schulbildung und Trivium im lateinischen Hochmittelalter und ihr möglicher praktischer Nutzen." In *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried, 203–84. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- KOLLER, József (1782), *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum*. Vol. 1. Pozsony: Landerer.
- KOMJÁTHY, Miklós (1955), "A tihanyi apátság alapítólevelének problémái" (Problems of the foundation charter of the abbey of Tihany). *Levéltári Közlemények* 26: 27–47.
- KONSTAN, David (1994–1995), "Friendship and the State." *Hyperboreus* 1.2: 1–16.
- KORPANTY, József (1983), "Sallust, Livius und ambitio." *Philologus* 127.1: 61–71.
- KOSTER, Severin (1980), *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*. Meisenheim: Hain.
- KOSZTA, László (1996), "Un prélat français de Hongrie: Bertalan, évêque de Pécs (1219–1251)." *Cahiers d'Études Hongroises* 8: 71–96.
- KOSZTA, László (1998), *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége (1214–1353)* (The activity of the Pécs cathedral chapter as a place of authentication, 1214–1353). Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány.

- KOSZTA, László (1999a), "Die Domkapitel und ihre Domherren bis Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn." In *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, 478–91. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- KOSZTA, László (1999b), "Mályusz Elemér, az egyháztörténész" (Elemér Mályusz, the Church historian). *Levéltári Közlemények* 70.1–2: 180–7.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (1969a), "Hungarian Cultural Policy in the Life and Writings of Gerard of Csanád." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (1969b), "The Importance of Gerard of Csanád as the First Author in Hungary." *Traditio* 25: 376–86.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (1974), "The Negative Results of the Enforced Missionary Policy of King Saint Stephen of Hungary: The Uprising of 1046." *Catholic Historical Review* 59.4: 569–86.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (1976), "The Role of Gerard of Csanád (ob. 1046) in Preserving the Church in Hungary." *Cithara* 15.2: 20–32.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (1977), "The Relations of Five Eleventh-Century Hungarian Kings with Rome in the Light of Papal Letters." *Church History* 46.1: 33–47.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (1981), *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and their Relations with Rome*. Boulder: East European Monographs.
- KOSZTOLNYIK, Zoltán J. (2002), *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063*. Boulder: East European Monographs.
- KÓTA, Péter (1994), "Intelmek" (Admonitions). In *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)* (Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: the ninth to the fourteenth century), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk, 283. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- KOTTJE, Raymund (1969), "Klosterbibliotheken und monastische Kultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts." *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 80.2: 145–62.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1965), "Megjegyzések az ún. «pogánylázadások» kora történetéhez" (Remarks on the history of the so-called "pagan revolts"). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 18: 3–57.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1974), *A XI. századi hercegség története Magyarországon* (The history of the eleventh-century principality in Hungary). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1981), "Ajtony and Vidin." *Studia Turco-Hungarica* 5: 129–35.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1984), "Források kritikája és kritikus források az 1040-es évek magyar történetére vonatkozóan, 1." (Source criticism and critical sources of the history of Hungary in the 1040s, 1). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100.3: 159–75.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1985), "Gellért püspök, valamint Péter és Aba Sámuel királyok viszonyának kérdéséhez" (On the relation of Bishop Gerard with Kings Peter and Samuel Aba). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101.2: 170–80.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1993–1996), "Selbstbewusstsein und Fremdenfeindlichkeit im Ungarn der Árpádenzeit." *East Central Europe* 20–23.2: 91–111.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1998a), "Vallási türelem az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" (Religious tolerance in Hungary in the Árpád age). In *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység* (Hungarian culture and Christianity), ed. István Monok and Judit Nyerges, vol. 2, 485–96. Budapest: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság; Szeged: Scriptum.

- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1998b), "The Bishoprics of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary." In *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, ed. Violeta Barbu, 55–66. Bucharest: Kriterion.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (1999), "A Szent Gellért-legenda és Szent István Intelmei" (The legend of Saint Gerard and the Admonitions of Saint Stephen). *Vigilia* 64.11: 844–7.
- KRISTÓ, Gyula (2000), "Gizella királyné magyarországi kísérete" (The entourage of Queen Gisela in Hungary). In *Gizella királyné (985 k. – 1060)* (Queen Gisela: c. 985–1060), ed. László Koszta and Sarolta Homonnai, 61–4. Veszprém: Vár Ucca Tizenhét.
- KRÖNERT, Klaus (2002), "Rezeption klassischer Dichtung in der Weltchronik Ottos von Freising." *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 37.1: 33–73.
- KRUMBACHER, Karl (1897), *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*. Munich: Beck.
- KUBINYI, András (1988), "Regensburg – Passau – Ungarn im Mittelalter." In *Bayern und Ungarn: Tausend Jahre enge Beziehungen*, ed. Ekkehard Völkl, 29–39. Regensburg: Lassleben.
- KUBINYI, András (1998), "Zur Frage der Toleranz im mittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn." In *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky and Harald Zimmermann, 187–206. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- KÜHÁR, Flóris (1927), "Szent Gellért Bakonybélben" (Saint Gerard in Bakonybél). *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 2.4: 305–19.
- KÜHÁR, Flóris (1937), "Maure de Pannonhalma, le bienheureux évêque de Pécs." *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 6.1: 58–62.
- KURFESS, Alfons (1937), "Der Historiker Sallust in Augustins Gottesstaat: Eine zeitgemässe Betrachtung." *Theologische Quartalschrift* 118.3: 341–56.
- LA CUTE, Pietro (1929), "Le vicende delle biblioteche monastiche veneziane dopo la soppressione napoleonica." *Rivista di Venezia* 8.10: 597–642.
- LABANDE, Edmond René (1973), "Essai sur les hommes de l'an mil." In *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del medio evo*, ed. Vittore Branca, 135–82. Florence: Sansoni.
- LADÁNYI, Erzsébet (1983), "Umstände der Entstehung des Ilosvay-Kodex: Untersuchungen aus dem Bereich der Handschriften der Sigismund-Gesetze." *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae: Sectio Historica* 23: 253–62.
- LADNER, Gerhart B. (1960), "The Holy Roman Empire of the Tenth Century and East Central Europe." *Polish Review* 5.4: 3–14.
- LAISTNER, M.L.W. (1924), "The Revival of Greek in Western Europe in the Carolingian Age." *History* 9.4: 177–87.
- LAISTNER, M.L.W. (1928), "The Date and the Recipient of Smaragdus' *Via Regia*." *Speculum* 3.3: 392–7.
- LAISTNER, M.L.W. (1941), "The Western Church and Astrology during the Early Middle Ages." *Harvard Theological Review* 34: 251–75.
- LAISTNER, M.L.W. (1950), "Pagan Schools and Christian Teachers." In *Liber Floridus: Mittelateinische Studien*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter, 47–61. St. Ottilien: Eos.
- LAISTNER, M.L.W. (1957), "Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar." In *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages: Selected Essays*, 93–116. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- LAMBERT, Malcolm D. (1977), *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*. London: Arnold.
- LANDES, Richard (1995), *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press.
- LANDES, Richard (2000), “The Birth of Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon.” *Journal of Religious History* 24.1: 26–43.
- LANG, Odo (1996), “Abt Gregor und die tausendjährige Buchkultur des Klosters Einsiedeln: Ein Spiegel geistigen Lebens.” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 107.1: 275–98.
- LANGOSCH, Karl (1963), *Lateinisches Mittelalter: Einleitung in Sprache und Literatur*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- LANHAM, Carol Dana (1975a), *Salutatio Formulas in Latin Letters to 1200: Syntax, Style, and Theory*. Munich: Ardeo-Gesellschaft.
- LANHAM, Carol Dana (1975b), “The Bastard at the Family Reunion: Classics and Medieval Latin.” *Classical Journal* 70.3: 46–59.
- LANHAM, Carol Dana (2002), “Preface.” In *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. Carol Dana Lanham, ix–xi. London and New York: Continuum.
- LATOCHE, Robert (1929), “Un imitateur de Salluste au X^e siècle: L’historien Richer.” *Annales de l’Université de Grenoble: Section Lettres–Droit* 6.3: 289–305.
- LATTIN, Harriet Pratt (1948), “The Eleventh Century MS Munich 14436: Its Contribution to the History of Coordinates, of Logic, of German Studies in France.” *Isis* 38.3–4: 205–25.
- LAW, Vivien (1992), “Carolingian Grammarians and Theoretical Innovation.” In *Diversions of Galway: Papers in the History of Linguistics*, ed. Anders Ahlquist, Konrad Koerner, R.H. Robins, and Irène Rosier, 27–37. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- LAW, Vivien (1994), “The Study of Grammar.” In *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 88–110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LAW, Vivien (1995), “The Transmission of Early Medieval Elementary Grammars: A Case Study in Explanation.” In *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Oronzo Pecere and Michael D. Reeve, 239–61. Spoleto: CISAM.
- LAW, Vivien (1997a), “The Historiography of Grammar in the Early Middle Ages.” In *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*, 4–27. London and New York: Longman.
- LAW, Vivien (1997b), “The Study of Grammar under the Carolingians.” In *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*, 129–53. London and New York: Longman.
- LECLERCQ, Jean (1948), “Smaragde et la grammaire chrétienne.” *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 4.1: 15–22.
- LECLERCQ, Jean (1960), *Saint Pierre Damien ermite et homme d’église*. Rome: Storia e Letteratura.
- LECLERCQ, Jean (1961), *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- LECLERCQ, Jean (1969), “L’humanisme des moines au moyen âge.” *Studi Medievali* 10.1: 69–113.
- LECLERCQ, Jean (1971), “Saint Gerard de Csanád et le monachisme.” *Studia Monastica* 13.1: 13–30.

- LEDERER, Emma (1949), "Az egyház szerepe az árpádkori Magyarországon" (The role of the Church in Hungary in the Árpád age). *Századok* 83.1–4: 79–105.
- LEFF, Gordon (1958), *Medieval Thought: St Augustine to Ockham*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- LEHMANN, Edgar (1957), *Die Bibliotheksräume der deutschen Klöster im Mittelalter*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1920), "Quellen zur Feststellung und Geschichte mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken, Handschriften und Schriftsteller." *Historisches Jahrbuch* 40.1: 44–105.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1923), "Zur Kenntnis der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita im Mittelalter." *Revue Bénédictine* 35.1–4: 81–97.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1927), "Reste und Spuren antiker Gelehrsamkeit in mittelalterlichen Texten." *Philologus* 83.2: 193–203.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1934), "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der antiken römischen Klassiker." *Philobiblon* 7.5: 209–28.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1959), "Die Institutio oratoria des Quintilianus im Mittelalter." In *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. Vol. 2, 1–28. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1960a), "Deutschland und die mittelalterliche Überlieferung der Antike." In *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. Vol. 3, 149–72. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1960b), "The Benedictine Order and the Transmission of the Literature of Ancient Rome in the Middle Ages." In *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. Vol. 3, 173–83. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1960c), "Das Verhältnis der abendländischen Kirche (bis 800) zu Literatur und Gelehrsamkeit." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 7.2: 613–32.
- LEHMANN, Paul (1962), "Mittelalterliche Büchertitel." In *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. Vol. 5, 1–93. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- LEJAY, Paul (1896), "Catalogues de la bibliothèque de Perrecy (XI^e siècle)." *Revue des Bibliothèques* 6: 225–36.
- LENTINI, Anselmo (1982), "La cultura del monaco supposta dalla «Regula Benedicti»." In *San Benedetto nel suo tempo*. Vol. 2, 697–700. Spoleto: Centro di Studi.
- LEO, Friedrich (1883), "Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der terenzischen Komödien und der Kommentar des Donatus." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 38.2: 317–47.
- LEONARDI, Claudio (1975), "I commenti altomedievali ai classici pagani: Da Severino Boezio a Remigio d'Auxerre." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1: 459–504.
- LEONARDI, Claudio (1993), "La teologia monastica." In *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*. Vol. 1.2, *La produzione del testo*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi, and Enrico Menestò, 295–321. Rome: Salerno.
- LEONARDI, Claudio (1994), "La filologia mediolatina." In *La critica del testo mediolatino*, ed. Claudio Leonardi, 11–27. Spoleto: CISAM.

- LESNE, Émile (1938), *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*. Vol. 4, *Les livres: «Scriptoria» et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII^e à la fin du XI^e siècle*. Lille: Facultés Catholiques.
- LESNE, Émile (1940), *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*. Vol. 5, *Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e*. Lille: Facultés Catholiques.
- LEVIN, Saul (1969), "The Persistence of Classical Latin in the Middle Ages." *Northeast Modern Language Association Newsletter* 1.2: 1–9.
- LEYSER, Karl (1995), "Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta: Western and Eastern Emperors in the Later Tenth Century." In *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. Adelbert Davids, 1–27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LHOTSKY, Alphons (1970), *Europäisches Mittelalter: Das Land Österreich*. Munich: Oldenbourg.
- LIND, L.R. (1972), "Concept, Action, and Character: The Reasons for Rome's Greatness." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 103: 235–83.
- LINDGREN, Uta (2001), "Représentant d'un âge obscur ou à l'aube d'un essor? Gerbert et les arts libéraux." In *Gerberto d'Aurillac da abate di Bobbio a papa dell'anno 1000*, ed. Flavio G. Nuvolone, 107–25. Bobbio: Archivum Bobiense.
- LÖFFLER, Klemens (1922), *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*. Bonn and Leipzig: Schroeder.
- LÖFSTEDT, Bengt (1984), "Zu Sedulius Scottus' Kommentar zu Donatus Maior." *Sacris Erudiri* 27: 433–42.
- LÖFSTEDT, Einar (1948), "Klassische Dichterremiszenzen im Mittelalter." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 9.1: 137–9.
- LÖFSTEDT, Einar (1949), "Reminiscence and Imitation: Some Problems in Latin Literature." *Erano* 47.3–4: 148–64.
- LOPEZ, Robert Sabatino (1951), "Still Another Renaissance?" *American Historical Review* 57.1: 1–21.
- LUBAC, Henri de (1949), *Corpus mysticum: L'eucharistie et l'Église au moyen-âge – Étude historique*. Paris: Aubier.
- LUBAC, Henri de (1960), "Saint Grégoire et la grammaire." *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 48: 185–226.
- LUBAC, Henri de (1993), *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*. Vol. 2.1. Paris: Cerf and Desclée de Brouwer.
- LUCAS, Robert H. (1970), "Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500." *Speculum* 45.2: 225–53.
- LUCK, Georg (1958), "Scriptor Classicus." *Comparative Literature* 10: 150–8.
- LUEBECK, Aemilius (1872), *Hieronymus quos noverit auctores et ex quibus hauserit*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- LUGANO, Placido (1929), *L'Italia benedettina*. Rome: Ferrari.
- LUHTALA, Anneli (1996), "«Priscian's Definitions Are Obscure»: Carolingian Commentators on the *Institutiones grammaticae*." In *Linguists and their Diversions: A Festschrift for R.H. Robins on his 75th Birthday*, ed. Vivien Law and Werner Hülsen, 53–78. Münster: Nodus.

- LUHTALA, Anneli (2002), "Time and the Substantival Verb in Eriugena." In *History and Eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and his Time*, ed. James McEvoy and Michael Dunne, 77–87. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- LUSCHER, Alfred (1912), *De Prisciani studiis Graecis*. Breslau: Marcus.
- LUSCOMBE, David (1988), "Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite in the Middle Ages from Hilduin to Lorenzo Valla." In *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*. Vol. 1, *Kongressdaten und Festvorträge: Literatur und Fälschung*, ed. Horst Fuhrmann, 133–52. Hanover: Hahn.
- LUSCOMBE, David (1996), "L'évêque Fulbert et les arts libéraux autour de l'an 1000." In *Le temps de Fulbert*, ed. Monique Cazeaux and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 105–14. Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir.
- LUTTOR, Francesco (1937), "Santo Stefano e Roma." *Studi e Documenti Italo-Ungheresi della R. Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma* 2: 22–41.
- LUTZ, Cora E. (1956a), "Remigius' Ideas on the Origin of the Seven Liberal Arts." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 10: 32–49.
- LUTZ, Cora E. (1956b), "Remigius' Ideas on the Classification of the Seven Liberal Arts." *Traditio* 12: 65–86.
- LUTZ, Cora E. (1977), *Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century*. Hamden, CT: Archon.
- MABILLON, Jean (1739), *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti occidentalium monachorum patriarchae*. Vol. 4. Lucca: Venturini.
- MACCORMACK, Sabine (1998), *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- MACDONALD, A.J. (1933), *Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; London: Milford.
- MACKINNEY, Loren C. (1957), *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Mediaeval Institute.
- MADAS, Edit (1999), "Un genre littéraire: La prédication – Réalité hongroise et contexte européen." In *Les hongrois et l'Europe: Conquête et intégration*, ed. Sándor Csernus and Klára Korompay, 395–410. Paris: Institut Hongrois de Paris.
- MADAS, Edit (2001), "Les auteurs classiques mentionnés et cités dans les sermonnaires de la Hongrie du Moyen Âge." In *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Amadeo Di Francesco, 119–32. Rome: Calamo.
- MADAS, Edit (2002), *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből: A kezdetektől a XIV. század elejéig* (From the history of the sermon literature of medieval Hungary: from the beginnings to the early fourteenth century). Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó.
- MADZSAR, Imre (1939), "Bompertus." *Századok* 73.1: 131–2.
- MAGISTRALE, Francesco (1996), "La scuola monastica: Dall'istruzione elementare alla lettura dei classici." In *Virgilio e il Chiostro: Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo, 17–24. Rome: Palombi.
- MAGYAR, Zoltán (1998), "Szent György középkori kultusza Magyarországon" (The medieval cult of Saint George in Hungary). *Századok* 132.1: 161–82.
- MAIGNE D'ARNIS, W.-H. (1858), *Lexicon manuale ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis*. Paris: Migne.

- MAÎTRE, Léon (1866), *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe-Auguste (768–1180)*. Paris: Dumoulin.
- MAKK, Ferenc (1990), "Les relations hungaro-byzantines aux X^e–XII^e siècles." In *European Intellectual Trends and Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz, 11–25. Budapest: Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- MALTBY, Robert (1999), "Late Latin Etymologising in Isidore of Seville." In *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*, ed. Hubert Petersmann and Rudolf Kettmann, vol. 5, 441–50. Heidelberg: Winter.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (1933), "Árpádházi Boldog Margit (A magyar egyházi műveltség problémája)" (Blessed Margaret of the Árpád dynasty: the problem of Hungarian ecclesiastical culture). In *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulója ünnepére* (Jubilee studies dedicated to the eightieth birthday of Árpád Károlyi), ed. Sándor Domanovszky, 341–84. Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (1939), "A középkori magyar nemzetiségi politika, 1." (The national policy of medieval Hungary, 1). *Századok* 73.7–8: 257–94.
- MANCINI, A. (1902), "Un commento ignoto di Remy d'Auxerre ai *Disticha Catonis*." *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 11.1–2: 175–98.
- MANFREDI, Antonio (1996), "Classici e formazione monastica a Pomposa nel secolo XI." In *Virgilio e il Chiostro: Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo, 45–53. Rome: Palombi.
- MANITIUS, Max (1892a), *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen (bis 1300)*. Frankfurt: Sauerländer.
- MANITIUS, Max (1892b), "Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter." *Philologus* 51.1–4: 156–71, 704–19.
- MANITIUS, Max (1907), "Geschichtliches aus mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen." *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 32.3: 647–709.
- MANITIUS, Max (1911), *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1, *Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Beck.
- MANITIUS, Max (1913), "Remigiusscholien." *Münchener Museum* 2.1: 79–113.
- MANITIUS, Max (1923), *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2, *Von der Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch des Kampfes zwischen Kirche und Staat*. Munich: Beck.
- MANITIUS, Max (1935), *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- MARCON, Susy (1995), "I codici della basilica di San Marco." In *I libri di San Marco: I manoscritti liturgici della basilica marciana*, ed. Susy Marcon, 13–28. Venice: Cardo.
- MARENBO, John (2000), "Humanism, Scholasticism and the School of Chartres." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6.4: 569–77.
- MARENBO, John (2002), "Platonism – A Doxographic Approach: The Early Middle Ages." In *The Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages: A Doxographic Approach*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen, 67–89. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.
- MARIGO, Aristide (1940), "Il volgarismo alle origini della lingua latina del medio evo: L'«auctoritas divina»." *Studi Medievali* 13.1–2: 108–40.

- MARKUS, R.A. (1983), "Paganism, Christianity and the Latin Classics in the Fourth Century." In *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, V.1–21. London: Variorum.
- MARÓTI, Egon (1962), "Terenz in Ungarn." *Altertum* 8.4: 243–51.
- MARRIAGE, Margaret, and MARRIAGE, Ernest (1909), *The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MARSHALL, P.K. (1979), "The Learning of Servatus Lupus: Some Additions." *Mediaeval Studies* 41: 514–23.
- MARSHALL, P.K. (1983), "Isidore." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 194–6. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MARTI, Berthe Marie (1941), "Literary Criticism in the Mediaeval Commentaries on Lucan." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 72: 245–54.
- MARTIN, Janet Marion (1969), "John of Salisbury and the Classics." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73: 319–21.
- MÁTRAY, Ernő (1878a), *A bölcsészet Magyarországon a scholastica korában* (The philosophy in Hungary in the age of scholasticism). Budapest: Kocsi.
- MÁTRAY, Ernő (1878b), "Gellért, az első magyar scholastikus" (Gerard, the first Hungarian scholastic author). *Figyelő* 4: 209–23.
- MAZZUCCO, Gabriele (1983), ed. *Monasteri benedettini nella laguna veneziana*. Venice: Arsenale.
- MCGUIRE, Martin R.P. (1983), "Mediaeval Humanism." *Catholic Historical Review* 38.4: 397–409.
- MCGUIRE, Martin R.P., and DRESSLER, Hermigild (1977), *Introduction to Medieval Latin Studies: A Syllabus and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- MCKEON, Richard (1942), "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 17.1: 1–32.
- MCKITTERICK, Rosamond (1989), *The Carolingians and the Written Word*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MCKITTERICK, Rosamond (1995), "Ottonian Intellectual Culture in the Tenth Century and the Role of Theophano." In *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Middle Ages*, XIII.53–74. Aldershot: Variorum.
- MEENS, Rob (1998), "Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm." *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3: 345–57.
- MEERSSEMAN, Gilles G. (1958), "«In libris gentiliū non studeant»: L'étude des classiques interdite aux clercs au moyen âge?" *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 1: 1–13.
- MEIER, Gabriel (1886–1887), *Die sieben freien Künste im Mittelalter*. Einsiedeln: Benzinger.
- MEISTER, Richard (1950), "Mittelatein als Traditionssprache." In *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter, 1–9. St. Ottilien: Eos.
- MERLET, Lucien (1854), "Catalogue des livres de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres au XI^e siècle." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 5: 263–70.
- MESSERER, Wilhelm (1975), "Antike und Byzanz in der ottonischen Bildkunst." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.2: 837–64.
- MÉSZÁROS, Ede (1936), *Qua ratione Anonymus Hungarus in conscribendis gestis suis sacra scriptura usus sit*. Pécs: Pécsi Irodalmi és Könyvnyomdai Rt.

- MÉSZÁROS, Ede (1940), *De cultu litterarum et de lingua Latina Hungariae medii aevi*. Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani.
- MÉSZÁROS, István (1961), "Magyarországi iskoláskönyv a XII. század első feléből" (A school-book from Hungary from the first half of the twelfth century). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 77.4: 371–98.
- MÉSZÁROS, István (1981), *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996–1777 között* (A history of education in Hungary between 996 and 1777). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- MEWS, Constant J. (2002), "Manuscripts in Polish Libraries Copied before 1200 and the Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Scriptorium* 56.1: 80–118.
- MEYER, Heinz (1997), "Intentio auctoris, utilitas libri: Wirkungsbericht und Nutzen literarischer Werke nach Accessus-Prologen des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31: 390–413.
- MEYER, Otto (1954), *Fragmenta Prisciani Swinfurtensia: Zur Handschriften-Fragment-Forschung in Franken*. Bamberg: Historischer Verein.
- MEZEY, László (1963), "A kéziratosság századai" (The centuries of the manuscripts). In *A könyv és könyvtár a magyar társadalom életében az államalapítástól 1849-ig* (Book and library in the life of Hungarian society from the foundation of the state to 1849), ed. Máté Kovács, 43–126. Budapest: Gondolat.
- MEZEY, László (1967), "A pécsi egyetemalapítás előzményei (A deákság és hiteleshely kezdeteihez)" (The precedents of the foundation of the university of Pécs: on the beginnings of literacy and the place of authentication). In *Jubileumi tanulmányok a pécsi egyetem történetéből* (Jubilee studies on the history of the university of Pécs), ed. Andor Csizmadia, 53–86. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem.
- MEZEY, László (1968), "Der Literat und seine Literatur: Zur Entstehungsfrage der gebildeten Laienschicht im mittelalterlichen Ungarn." *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 10.1–2: 29–46.
- MEZEY, László (1970a), "Litteratura: grammatica és musica – XI. századi kezdeteinkből tanúság" (*Litteratura: grammatica and musica* – on the eleventh-century beginnings). *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74.5–6: 653–6.
- MEZEY, László (1970b), "Pannonia quae et Ungria." *Vigilia* 35.12: 795–800.
- MEZEY, László (1978), "Fragmenta codicum: Egy új forrásterület feltárása" (*Fragmenta codicum: exploring a new field of sources*). *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományok Osztályának Közleményei* 30.1–2: 65–90.
- MEZEY, László (1979), *Deákság és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* (Literacy and Europe: the foundations of Hungarian literary culture). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- MEZEY, László (1980), "Gellért-problémák" (Gerard problems). *Vigilia* 45.9: 590–8.
- MEZEY, László (1983), ed. *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestensis*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- MEZEY, László (1984), "A teológia (patrisztika) és a skolasztika jelentkezése az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" (The reception of theology (patristics) and scholastics in Hungary in the Árpád age). In *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely, 213–25. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

- MICHAŁOWSKI, Roman (1989), "Aix-la-Chapelle et Cracovie au XI^e siècle." *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 95: 45–69.
- MICHEL, Alain (1993), "Cicéron et le classicisme." In *L'Autorité de Cicéron de l'Antiquité au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Pierre Néraudau, 17–28. Caen: Paradigme.
- MIEROW, Charles C. (1944), "The Later Latin." *Classical Weekly* 37.19: 195.
- MILDE, Wolfgang (1996), "Über Anordnung und Verzeichnung von Büchern in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen." *Scriptorium* 50.2: 269–78.
- MITZKA, Walther (1929), "Die deutschen Catodichtungen des Mittelalters." *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 54.1: 3–20.
- MOHR, Walter (1962), *Die karolingische Reichsidee*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- MOHRMANN, Christine (1958), "Le latin médiéval." *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 1.3: 265–94.
- MOORE, R.I. (2000), "The Birth of Popular Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon?" *Journal of Religious History* 24.1: 8–25.
- MOORHEAD, John (1985), "Aspects of the Carolingian Response to Cicero." *Philologus* 129.1: 109–20.
- MOOS, Peter von (1975), "Cornelia und Heloise." *Latomus* 34.4: 1024–59.
- MOOS, Peter von (1979), "Lucans *tragedia* im Hochmittelalter: Pessimismus, *contemptus mundi* und Gegenwartserfahrung (Otto von Freising, «Vita Heinrici IV.», Johann von Salis-bury)." *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 14: 127–86.
- MOOS, Peter von (1988), *Geschichte als Topik: Das rhetorische Exemplum von der Antike zur Neuzeit und die "historiae" im "Polycraticus" Johanns von Salisbury*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- MORAVCSIK, Gyula (1956), *Die byzantinische Kultur und das mittelalterliche Ungarn*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- MORAVCSIK, Gyula (1967), "The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary." In *Studia Byzantina*, 326–40. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- MORIN, Germain (1905), "Le catalogue des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Gorze au XI^e siècle." *Revue Bénédictine* 22.1–4: 1–14.
- MORIN, Germain (1910), "Un théologien ignoré du XI^e siècle: L'évêque-martyr Gérard de Csanád, O.S.B." *Revue Bénédictine* 27.1–4: 516–21.
- MORIN, Germain (1939), "Un destinataire bavarois du dernier ouvrage de saint Gérard?" *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 8.3: 272–3.
- MORRISON, Karl F. (1964), *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MORRISON, Karl F. (1969), *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church 300–1140*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MORRISON, Karl F. (1983), "Incentives for Studying the Liberal Arts." In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. David L. Wagner, 32–57. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- MORTENSEN, Lars Boje (1992), "The Texts and Contexts of Ancient Roman History in Twelfth-Century Western Scholarship." In *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino, 99–116. London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press.
- MORTENSEN, Lars Boje (1998), "Working with Ancient Roman History: A Comparison of Carolingian and Twelfth-Century Scholarly Endeavours." In *Gli umanissimi medievali*, ed. Claudio Leonardi, 411–20. Florence: SISMEL.

- MOSTERT, Marco (1987), *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- MOSTERT, Marco (1989), *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- MOSTERT, Marco (1991), Review of *Manuscripts classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*. Vol. 1, *Agen – Evreux*, by Colette Jeudy and Yves-François Riou. *Quaerendo* 21.2: 139–40.
- MOSTERT, Marco (1996), “The Tradition of Classical Texts in the Manuscripts of Fleury.” In *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret M. Smith, 19–40. Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson and Lovelace; London: Red Gull Press.
- MOUNTFORD, James Frederick (1925), *Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries*. New York and London: Cornell University.
- MÜLLER, Wolfgang P. (1990), “The Recovery of Justinian’s Digest in the Middle Ages.” *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 20: 1–29.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1982a), *L’étude des auteurs classiques latins au XI^e et XII^e siècles*. Vol. 1, *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Apicius – Juvénal*. Paris: CNRS.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1982b), “Les florilèges d’auteurs classiques.” In *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation*, ed. Robert Bultot, 151–64. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institute d’Études Médiévales de l’Université Catholique de Louvain.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1984), “The Cistercians and Classical Culture.” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 47: 64–102.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1984–1985), “La popularité des textes classiques entre le IX^e et le XII^e siècle.” *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* 14–15: 169–81.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1987), *L’étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*. Vol. 3.1, *Les classiques dans les bibliothèques médiévales*. Paris: CNRS.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1989), “Les bibliothèques bénédictines et les bibliothèques de cathédrales: Les mutations des XI^e et XII^e siècles.” In *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*. Vol. 1, *Les bibliothèques médiévales: Du VI^e siècle à 1530*, ed. André Vernet, 31–44. Paris: Promodis and Cercle de la Libraire.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1989–1990), “Les classiques au X^e siècle.” *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 24–25: 341–7.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1991), *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*. Spoleto: CISAM.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1995), “Etat présent des études sur la réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance (Conclusion).” In *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Birger Munk Olsen, 185–96. Spoleto: CISAM.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1996a), “I classici nei monasteri tra fascino e inquietudine.” In *Virgilio e il Chiostro: Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. Mariano Dell’Omo, 7–16. Rome: Palombi.

- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1996b), "The Production of Classics in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret M. Smith, 1–17. Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson and Lovelace; London: Red Gull Press.
- MUNK OLSEN, Birger (1997), "Les titres dans les manuscrits des poètes classiques latins copiés du IX^e au XII^e siècle." In *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques*, ed. Jean-Claude Fredouille, Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, Philippe Hoffmann, and Pierre Petit-mengin, 511–27. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes.
- MURGIA, Charles E. (1968), "Critical Notes on the Text of Servius' Commentary on *Aeneid* III–V." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72: 311–50.
- MURPHY, James J. (1967), "Cicero's Rhetoric in the Middle Ages." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 53.4: 334–41.
- MURPHY, James J. (1974), *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- MURPHY, James J. (1996), "Rhetoric." In *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg, 629–38. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- MÜTHERICH, Florentine (1971), "«De Rhetorica»: Eine Illustration zu Martianus Capella." In *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl, 198–206. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- NADEAU, Christian (2001), *Le vocabulaire de saint Augustin*. Paris: Ellipses.
- NAGY, Á. (1972), "Origine et iconographie du sarcophage de Székesfehérvár." *Alba Regia* 13: 167–84.
- NAVONE, Paola (1982), "Catones perplurimi." *Sandalion* 5: 311–27.
- NEDERMAN, Cary J. (1987), "The Physiological Significance of the Organic Metaphor in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*." *History of Political Thought* 8.2: 211–23.
- NEDERMAN, Cary J. (1988), "Nature, Sin and the Origins of Society: The Ciceronian Tradition in Medieval Political Thought." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49.1: 3–26.
- NEES, Lawrence (1991), *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- NEHAB, Julius (1879), *Der altenglische Cato: Eine Übertragung und Bearbeitung der "Disticha Catonis"*. Berlin: Unger.
- NELSON, Janet L. (1996), "Bad Kingship in the Earlier Middle Ages." *Haskins Society Journal* 8: 1–26.
- NELSON, Janet L. (1999), "Hincmar of Reims on King-Making: The Evidence of the *Annals of St. Bertin*, 861–882." In *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others*, XVII.16–34. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (1998–1999), "The Parts and the Whole: The Classical Parallels of the *Institutio* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 34–35: 81–90.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (1999), "Latin klasszikusok Pannonhalmán a 11. században" (Latin classics in Pannonhalma in the eleventh century). *Ókortudományi Értesítő* 4: 25–31.

- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2000a), "Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Problems and Perspectives." In *Tradita et Inventa: Beiträge zur Rezeption der Antike*, ed. Manuel Baumbach, 37–58. Heidelberg: Winter.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2000b), Review of *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum*, ed. and trans. Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű. *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 12.4: 402–5.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2000c), "The Medieval Rome Idea in the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 36: 187–201.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2001a), "Fictive Audience: The Second Person Singular in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád." In *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter, 39–48. Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum; Budapest: Central European University.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2001b), "The Seven Liberal Arts in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád." *Studi Veneziani* 42: 215–23.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2001c), "The Representation of the Bishops in the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 37: 79–86.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2001d), "Latin Grammar in the Cathedral School: Fulbert of Chartres, Bonipert of Pécs, and the Way of a Lost Priscian Manuscript." *Quidditas* 22: 39–53.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2002), "Szent Gellért patrisztikus forrásai" (The patristic sources of Saint Gerard). In *Studia Patrum*, ed. Péter Nemeshegyi and Zoltán Rihmer, 255–61. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2002–2003), "Biblical Latin and the Admonitions of King Stephen of Hungary." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 38–39: 281–8.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2003a), "Szent Gellért *Deliberatio*jának kutatástörténete" (Review of scholarship on the *Deliberatio* of Saint Gerard). *Fons* 10.1: 3–19.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2003b), "Latin Classics in Medieval Libraries: Hungary in the Eleventh Century." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43.1–2: 243–56.
- NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (2004), "Cathedral Libraries in Medieval Hungary." *Library History* 20.1: 7–17.
- NÉMETHY, Géza (1889), "Spicilegium criticum in distichis Catonianis." *Egyetemes Philológiai Közöny* 13.1: 128–44.
- NESTLE, Wilhelm (1927), "Die Fabel des Menenius Agrippa." *Klio* 21.3–4: 350–60.
- NEWALD, Richard (1960), *Nachleben des antiken Geistes im Abendland bis zum Beginn des Humanismus: Eine Übersicht*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- NEUHAUSER, Richard (1995), "The Treatise on Virtues and Vices as a Medieval Genre and its Structural Foundations in the Classical Tradition." In *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Carlos Bazán, Eduardo Andújar, and Léonard Sbrocchi, vol. 1, 420–8. New York, Ottawa, and Toronto: LEGAS.
- NEWTON, Francis (1999), *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NICOL, Donald M. (1988), *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NIERMEYER, J.F. (1993), *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill.

- NORDEN, Eduard (1906), "De vitis Vergilianis." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 61.2: 166–77.
- NORDEN, Eduard (1958), *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*. Vol. 2. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- NOVÁK, Lajos (1865), "Szent Gellért csanádi püspök, 2." (Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád, 2). *Magyar Sion* 3.8: 561–83.
- Ó CRÓINÍN, Dáibhí (1983), "Donatus. Finit Amen." *Peritia* 2: 307–11.
- ÖBERG, Jan (1976), "La Suède médiévale et les auteurs latins classiques." In *Hommages à André Boutemy*, ed. Guy Cambier, 264–73. Brussels: Latomus.
- OCHSENBEIN, Peter (1999), "Die St. Galler Klosterschule." In *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter: Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Ochsenbein, 95–107. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- O'DONNELL, J. Reginald (1976), "Alcuin's Priscian." In *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900: Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. John J. O'Meara and Bernd Naumann, 222–35. Leiden: Brill.
- O'DONNELL, James J. (1980), "Augustine's Classical Readings." *Recherches Augustiniennes* 15: 144–75.
- OGILVIE, R.M. (1965), *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1–5*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- OGLE, Marbury Bladen (1926), "Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style." *Speculum* 1.2: 170–89.
- OPELT, Ilona (1986), "Pseudo Cato und Planudes." *Koinonia* 10.2: 175–91.
- OPPERMANN, Hans (1958), "Das Menschenbild Sallusts." *Gymnasium* 65.1–2: 185–96.
- ORTOLEVA, Vincenzo (1991), "La traduzione di Massimo Planude dei *Disticha Catonis*: Dalle divulgazione del latino a Bisanzio alla didassi del greco in occidente." *Aufidus* 15: 93–101.
- ORTVAY, Tivadar (1890), *A pécsi egyházmegye alapítása és első határai: Történet-topográfiai tanulmány* (The foundation and the first boundaries of the diocese of Pécs: a study in historical topography). Budapest: MTA.
- OUTLER, Albert C. (1959), "Augustine and the Transvaluation of the Classical Tradition." *Classical Journal* 54.5: 213–20.
- PABÓN, José M. (1933), "Sobre la tradición del texto de Salustio." *Emerita* 1.1–2: 78–101.
- PAETOW, Louis John (1910), *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- PAIS, Dezső (1923), "Les rapports franco-hongrois sous les regne des Árpád, 1., Relations politico-dynastiques et ecclésiastiques." *Revue des Études Hongroises et Finno-Ougriennes* 1.1–2: 15–26.
- PAIS, Dezső (1953), "Árpád- és Anjou-kori mulattatóink" (Jesters of the Árpád and Angevin period). In *Emlékkönyv Kodály Zoltán 70. születésnapjára* (Jubilee studies on the seventieth birthday of Zoltán Kodály), ed. Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha, 95–110. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- PALADINI, V., and DE MARCO, M. (1970), *Lingua e letteratura mediolatina*. Bologna: Pàtron.
- PALAZZO, Éric (1997), "Le livre dans les trésors du Moyen Age: Contribution à l'histoire de la *Memoria* médiévale." *Annales HSS* 52.1: 93–118.
- PAPINI, Gianni A. (1981), "Cicéron en Toscane au XIII^e siècle: La traduction des *Catilinaires*." *Études de Lettres* 4.1: 3–20.
- PARKER, H. (1890), "The Seven Liberal Arts." *English Historical Review* 19.5: 417–61.

- PARKER, Jan (1996), "Reading Receptions." In *The Reception of Classical Texts and Images*. Vol. 1, *Reception within Antiquity*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Stanley Ireland, 91–108. Milton Keynes: Open University Department of Classical Studies.
- PARKES, M.B. (1999), "Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages." In *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, 90–102. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- PASCAL, Paul (1955), "The Bible in the Conflict over Secular Studies during the Early Middle Ages." *Classical Journal* 51.3: 111–7.
- PASCAL, Paul (1966), "Mediaeval Uses of Antiquity." *Classical Journal* 61.5: 193–7.
- PASSALACQUA, Marina (1978), *I codici di Prisciano*. Rome: Storia e Letteratura.
- PASSALACQUA, Marina (1986), "Note su Prisciano traduttore." *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 114.4: 443–8.
- PÁSZTOR, Edith (1962), "Sulle origini della vita comune del clero in Ungheria." In *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, ed. Cinzio Violante and Cosimo D. Fonseca, vol. 2, 71–9. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.
- PAULER, Gyula (1879), "Szent István és alkotmánya, 1." (Saint Stephen and his constitution, 1). *Századok* 13.1: 1–30.
- PAULER, Gyula (1888), Review of *Szent Gellért csanádi püspök élete és művei* (The life and works of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád), by János Karácsonyi. *Századok* 22.1: 57–65.
- PAVAN, Massimiliano (1960), "Agostino emulo di Sallustio." *Studi Romani* 8.6: 637–46.
- PEASE, Arthur Stanley (1919), "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 50: 150–67.
- PEASE, Arthur Stanley (1940), "Mantua me genuit." *Classical Philology* 35.2: 180–2.
- PEIL, Dietmar (1983), *Untersuchungen zur Staats- und Herrschaftsmetaphorik in literarischen Zeugnissen von der Antike bis zum Gegenwart*. Munich: Fink.
- PEIL, Dietmar (1985), *Der Streit der Glieder mit dem Magen: Studien zur Überlieferungs- und Deutungsgeschichte der Fabel des Menenius Agrippa von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- PELLEGRIN, Élisabeth (1984–1985), "La tradition des textes classiques latins à l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14–15: 155–67.
- PELSÓCZY, Ferenc (1970), "Szent István király Intelmei az ezredik év közfelfogásában" (The Admonitions of King Saint Stephen in the public opinion of the year one thousand). *Vigilia* 35.8: 527–35.
- PELSÓCZY, Ferenc (1971), "Szent István, pap és király" (Saint Stephen, priest and king). *Vigilia* 36.8: 513–20.
- PERL, Gerhard (1967), "Die Zuverlässigkeit der Buchangaben in den Zitaten Priscians." *Philologus* 111.3–4: 283–8.
- PETERSEN, Walter (1917), "Latin Diminution of Adjectives, 2." *Classical Philology* 12.1: 49–67.
- PFISTER, Ch. (1885), *De Fulberti Carnotensis episcopi vita et operibus*. Nancy: Sordoillet.
- PHILIPPE, J. (1896), "Lucrèce dans la théologie chrétienne du III^e au XIII^e siècle et spécialement dans les écoles carolingiennes, 3." *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 33.2: 125–62.
- PHILLIPS, Margaret Mann (1970), "Erasmus and the Classics." In *Erasmus*, ed. T.A. Dorey, 1–30. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

- PHILLIPS, Oliver (1991), "St. Augustine's Lucanesque Moment: The Third Book of the *City of God*." *Augustinian Studies* 22: 157–64.
- PLATER, W.E., and WHITE, H.J. (1926), *A Grammar of the Vulgate Being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- PLETL, Renate (2000), *Irdisches Regnum in der mittelalterlichen Exegese: Ein Beitrag zur exegetischen Lexikographie und ihren Herrschaftsvorstellungen (7.–13. Jahrhundert)*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- PLEZIA, Marian (1967), "Development Periods of Medieval Latin." In *Miscellanea mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer*, 29–40. Groningen: Wolters.
- POIREL, Dominique (2001), "Le «chant dionysien», du IX^e au XII^e siècle." In *Les historiens et le latin médiéval*, ed. Monique Goullet and Michel Parisse, 151–76. Paris: Sorbonne.
- POLARA, Giovanni (1994), "Storia della trasmissione dei testi grammaticali." In *La critica del testo mediolatino*, ed. Claudio Leonardi, 187–201. Spoleto: CISAM.
- PORRO, Antonietta (1986), "Prisciano e le «Adnotationes super Lucanum»." *Aevum* 60.2: 193–7.
- POSTGATE, J.P. (1905), "Pharsalia nostra." *Classical Review* 19.5: 257–60.
- POTTHAST, August (1976), ed. *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*. Vol. 4. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo.
- POWER, Gerald J. (1961), "Richer's Utilization of his Sources." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 65: 367–9.
- PRATT, Kenneth J. (1965), "Rome as Eternal." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26.1: 25–44.
- PRAY, György (1774), *Dissertationes historico-criticae de sanctis Solomone rege et Emerico duce Hungariae*. Pozsony: Landerer.
- PRAY, György (1776), *Specimen hierarchiae Hungaricae complectens seriem chronologicam archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hungariae*. Vol. 1, *De archiepiscopatu Strigoniensi et ejus suffraganeis*. Pozsony and Kassa: Landerer.
- PRESTEL, Peter (1992), *Die Rezeption der ciceronischen Rhetorik durch Augustinus in «de doctrina Christiana»*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- PRESTEL, Peter (1995), "Antike Rhetorik in christlicher Verwendung – Augustinus: De doctrina Christiana II." *Altsprachliche Unterricht* 38.3: 54–64.
- PRILL, Paul E. (1987), "Rhetoric and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages." *Rhetorica* 5.2: 129–47.
- PRINZ, Otto (1971), "Zum Einfluss des Griechischen auf den Wortschatz des Mittellateins." In *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl, 1–15. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- PULGRAM, Ernst (1978), *Italic, Latin, Italian 600 B.C. to A.D. 1260: Texts and Commentaries*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- PÜSPÖKI NAGY, Péter (2002), *Szent Gellért csanádi püspök-vértanú élete és műve* (The life and work of the bishop and martyr Saint Gerard of Csanád). Budapest: Belvárosi Római Katolikus Főplébánia.
- PUTNAM, Michael C.J. (1972), "Horace and Tibullus." *Classical Philology* 67.2: 81–8.
- QUADLBAUER, Franz (1962), *Die antike Theorie der genera dicendi im lateinischen Mittelalter*. Graz, Vienna, and Cologne: Böhlau.
- QUAIN, Edwin (1945), "The Medieval Accessus ad Auctores." *Traditio* 3: 215–64.

- RABY, F.J.E. (1953), *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- RABY, F.J.E. (1957), *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- RÁCZ, Elemér (1927), *A ritmikus próza XII–XIII. századi okleveleinkben* (Prose rhythm in twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters of Hungary). Budapest: Élet.
- RÁCZ, Lajos (1997), “Rex és regnum” (*Rex and regnum*). *Rubicon* 8.8: 19–24.
- RÄDLE, Fidel (1982), “Die Kenntnis der antiken lateinischen Literatur bei den Iren in der Heimat und auf dem Kontinent.” In *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. Heinz Löwe, vol. 1, 484–500. Stuttgart: Klett and Cotta.
- RÄDLE, Fidel (1993), “Lateinische Literatur im Umkreis Bernwards.” In *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, ed. Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, vol. 1, 201–5. Hildesheim: Bernward; Mainz: Zabern.
- RÄDLE, Fidel (1995), “«Disticha Catonis»: Eine Schulfibel des Abendlands.” *Altsprachliche Unterricht* 38.6: 45–8.
- RADÓ, Polikárp (1973), *Libri liturgici bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- RAJNA, Pio (1928), “Le denominazioni *Trivium* e *Quadrivium*.” *Studi Medievali* 1.1: 4–36.
- RAND, Edward Kennard (1909), “Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence.” *Classical Philology* 4.4: 359–89.
- RAND, Edward Kennard (1926), “On the History of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 37: 1–48.
- RAND, Edward Kennard (1929a), *Founders of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- RAND, Edward Kennard (1929b), “The Classics in the Thirteenth Century.” *Speculum* 4.3: 249–69.
- RAND, Edward Kennard (1943), *The Building of Eternal Rome*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- RANDO, Daniela (1994), *Una chiesa di frontiera: Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI–XII*. Bologna: Mulino.
- RAVEGNANI, Giorgio (1976), *Le biblioteche del monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore*. Florence: Olschki.
- REDL, Károly (1965), “Probleme in der *Deliberatio* des Bischofs Gerhard.” In *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt*. Vol. 2, *Römisches Reich*, ed. Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf, 349–66. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- REDL, Károly (1968), Review of *Untersuchungen zur ‘Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puero-rum’ des Gerhard von Csanád*, by Gabriel Silagi. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 72.3: 384–6.
- REECE, Benny R. (1968), “Classical Quotations in the Works of Ratherius.” *Classical Folia* 22.2: 198–213.
- REEVE, Michael D. (1983), “Terence.” In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 412–20. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- REEVE, Michael D. (2000), “*Cuius in usum?* Recent and Future Editing.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 90: 196–206.

- REEVES, Marjorie (1991), "The Bible and Literary Authorship in the Middle Ages." In *Reading the Text: Biblical Criticism and Literary Theory*, ed. Stephen Prickett, 12–63. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell.
- REICHE, Rainer (1976), *Ein rheinisches Schulbuch aus dem 11. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Sammelhandschrift Bonn UB. S 218 mit Edition von bisher unveröffentlichten Texten*. Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft.
- RESNICK, Irvn Michael (1986), "Litterati, Spirituales, and Lay Christians according to Otloh of Saint Emmeram." *Church History* 55.2: 165–78.
- RESNICK, Irvn Michael (1987), "Scientia liberalis, Dialectics, and Otloh of St. Emmeram." *Revue Bénédictine* 97.3–4: 241–52.
- RESNICK, Irvn Michael (1990), "Attitudes towards Philosophy and Dialectic during the Gregorian Reform." *Journal of Religious History* 16.2: 115–25.
- RESNICK, Irvn Michael (1992), *Divine Power and Possibility in St. Peter Damian's De Divina Omnipotentia*. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill.
- RESNICK, Irvn Michael (1996), "Anselm of Besate and Humanism in the Eleventh Century." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 6: 1–11.
- REUTER, Timothy (1982), "The «Imperial Church System» of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33.3: 347–74.
- REYDELLET, Marc (1966), "La diffusion des *Origines* d'Isidore de Séville au Haut Moyen Age." *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 78.2: 383–437.
- REYNOLDS, L.D. (1983a), ed. *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- REYNOLDS, L.D. (1983b), "Livy." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 205–14. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- REYNOLDS, L.D. (1983c), "Sallust." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 341–9. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- REYNOLDS, L.D., and WILSON, N.G. (1974), *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- REYNOLDS, Suzanne (1996), *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RICHÉ, Pierre (1962a), *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident: V^e–VIII^e siècles*. Paris: Seuil.
- RICHÉ, Pierre (1962b), "Recherches sur l'instruction des laïcs du IX^e au XII^e siècle." *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 5.2: 175–82.
- RICHÉ, Pierre (1979), *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du V^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle*. Paris: Aubier and Montaigne.
- RICHÉ, Pierre (1984), "La Bible et la vie politique dans le haut Moyen Age." In *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, 385–400. Paris: Beauchesne.
- RICHÉ, Pierre (1989–1990), "Les conditions de la production littéraire: Maîtres et écoles." *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 24–25: 413–21.
- RICHÉ, Pierre (1996), "Fulbert de Chartres et son Ecole." In *Le temps de Fulbert*, ed. Monique Cazeaux and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 27–32. Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir.

- RICHÉ, Pierre (1998), "L'humanisme au X^e siècle." In *Gli umanesimi medievali*, ed. Claudio Leonardi, 551–8. Florence: SISMEL.
- RICHTER, Michael (1979), "Latina lingua – sacra seu vulgaris?" In *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, 16–34. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- RIOU, Yves-François (1973), "Essai sur la tradition manuscrite du *Commentum Brunianum* des Comédies de Térence." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 13: 79–113.
- RIOU, Yves-François (1997), "Les commentaires médiévaux de Térence." In *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship*, ed. Nicholas Mann and Birger Munk Olsen, 33–49. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill.
- RISSEL, Maria (1976), *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus: Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte*. Bern and Frankfurt: Lang.
- ROBERTS, Phyllis (2002), "The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon." In *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, 41–62. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill.
- ROBINS, R.H. (1951), *Ancient & Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe with Particular Reference to Modern Linguistic Doctrine*. London: Bell.
- RÖCKELEIN, Hedwig (1986), *Otloh, Gottschalk, Tnugdal: Individuelle und kollektive Visionsmuster des Hochmittelalters*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- RÓNAY, György (1941), "Monostori szellem a román korban (A szerzetesi olvasmányok és a monostori irodalom eszményei)" (Monastic spirit in the Romanesque period: monastic readings and the ideals of monastic literature). *Katholikus Szemle* 55.9: 325–30.
- RÓNAY, György (1956), "Bogumilizmus Magyarországon a XI. század elején, Gellért püspök «Deliberatio»-jának tükrében" (Bogomilism in Hungary at the beginning of the eleventh century as reflected in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard). *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 60.4: 471–4.
- RÓNAY, György (1980), "Szent Gellért és legendái" (Saint Gerard and his legends). *Vigilia* 45.9: 577–88.
- RÓNAY, György (1981), "Első szentjeink" (The first saints of Hungary). *Vigilia* 46.8: 514–25.
- RONCONI, Alessandro (1934), "Il «cursus» medievale e il testo di Cicerone." *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 11: 99–120.
- ROOS, Paolo (1984), *Sentenza e proverbio nell'antichità e i 'Distici di Catone'*. Brescia: Morcalliana.
- ROSE, H.J. (1932), "Stella = Sidus." *Classical Quarterly* 26.3–4: 194.
- ROUSE, Mary A., and ROUSE, Richard H. (1982), "Florilegia of Patristic Texts." In *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation*, ed. Robert Bultot, 165–80. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institute d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain.
- ROUSE, Richard H. (1979), "Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans." *Viator* 10: 131–60.
- ROUSE, Richard H., and REEVE, Michael D. (1983), "Cicero: Speeches." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 54–98. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- RUEBEL, James S. (1984), "The Cup and the Lip." In *Classical Texts and their Traditions: Studies in Honor of C.R. Trahman*, ed. David F. Bright and Edwin S. Ramage, 213–22. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- RÜEGG, Walter (1973), "Das antike Vorbild in Mittelalter und Renaissance." In *Anstösse: Aufsätze und Vorträge zur dialogischen Lebensform*, 91–111. Frankfurt: Metzner.
- RUHE, Ernstpeter (1968), *Untersuchungen zu den altfranzösischen Übersetzungen der Disticha Catonis*. Munich: Hueber.
- SABBADINI, Remigio (1894), "Il commento di Donato a Terenzio." *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 2.1: 1–134.
- SACKUR, Ernst (1886), *Richard, Abt von St. Vannes*. Breslau: Breslauer Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei.
- SAENGER, Paul (1997), *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- SÁGHY, Marianne (1997a), "Le baptême de saint Étienne de Hongrie." In *Clovis: Histoire & mémoire*. Vol. 2, *Le baptême de Clovis, son écho à travers l'histoire*, ed. Michel Rouche, 437–52. Paris: Sorbonne.
- SÁGHY, Marianne (1997b), "La christianisation de la Hongrie." In *Gerbert l'euro péen*, ed. Nicole Charbonnel and Jean-Eric Iung, 255–62. Aurillac: La Haute-Auvergne.
- SÁGHY, Marianne (2001a), "The Making of the Christian Kingdom in Hungary." In *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk, 451–64. Warsaw: DIG.
- SÁGHY, Marianne (2001b), "L'organisation des Églises en Hongrie autour de l'An Mil: Le cas de l'évêché de Csanád." In *Gerberto d'Aurillac da abate di Bobbio a papa dell'anno 1000*, ed. Flavio G. Nuvolone, 469–81. Bobbio: Archivum Bobiense.
- SALAMON, Maciej (1979), "Priscianus und sein Schülerkreis in Konstantinopel." *Philologus* 123.1: 91–6.
- SANDYS, John Edwin (1958), *A History of Classical Scholarship*. Vol. 1, *From the Sixth Century B.C. to the End of the Middle Ages*. New York: Hafner.
- SANFORD, Eva Matthews (1924), "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 55: 190–248.
- SANFORD, Eva Matthews (1931), "Lucan and his Roman Critics." *Classical Philology* 26.3: 233–57.
- SANFORD, Eva Matthews (1934a), "Quotations from Lucan in Mediaeval Latin Authors." *American Journal of Philology* 55.1: 1–19.
- SANFORD, Eva Matthews (1934b), "The Manuscripts of Lucan: *Accessus* and *Marginalia*." *Speculum* 9.3: 278–95.
- SANFORD, Eva Matthews (1944), "The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5.1: 21–43.
- SANFORD, Eva Matthews (1947), "The Survival of the Roman Empire." *Classical Weekly* 41.4: 52–6.
- SANSOVINO, Francesco (1663), *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*. Venice: Curti.
- SATTERTHWAITE, Philip E. (1997), "The Latin Church Fathers." In *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C. – A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 671–94. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill.

- SAVINO, Giancarlo (1990), "Per una raccolta dei cataloghi medievali delle biblioteche d'Italia." *Studi Medievali* 31.2: 789–803.
- SAWICKI, Jakob von (1929), "Zur Textkritik und Entstehungsgeschichte der Gesetze König Stefans des Heiligen." *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 9: 395–425.
- SCAGLIONE, Aldo (1990), "The Classics in Medieval Education." In *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin, 343–62. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies.
- SCHANZ, Martin (1922), *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*. Vol. 3, *Die Zeit von Hadrian 117 bis auf Constantin 324*. Munich: Beck.
- SCHARF, Joachim (1961), "Studien zu Smaragdus und Jonas." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 17: 333–84.
- SCHAUWECKER, Helga (1963), "Otloh von St. Emmeram: Ein Beitrag zur Bildungs- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 74.1–4: 3–240.
- SCHILLER, Felix (1910), "Das erste ungarische Gesetzbuch und das deutsche Recht." In *Festschrift Heinrich Brunner zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern und Verehren*, 379–404. Weimar: Böhlau.
- SCHINDEL, Ulrich (1988), "Zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte der Etymologiae Isidors von Sevilla." *Studi Medievali* 29.2: 587–605.
- SCHMALE, Franz-Josef (1957), "Die Bologneser Schule der Ars dictandi." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 13.1: 16–34.
- SCHMIDT, Peter Lebrecht (1995), "Rezeptionsgeschichte und Überlieferungsgeschichte der klassischen lateinischen Literatur." In *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Birger Munk Olsen, 3–21. Spoleto: CISAM.
- SCHMITT, Wolfgang O. (1967), "Cato in Byzanz." *Klio* 48: 325–34.
- SCHMITT, Wolfgang O. (1968), "Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz: Die Übersetzungen des Maximus Planudes und die moderne Forschung." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 17: 127–47.
- SCHMITT, Wolfgang O. (1975), "Donati Graeci: Zum Griechischstudium der italienischen Humanisten." In *Actes de la XII^e Conférence Internationale d'Études Classiques Eirene*, ed. I. Fischer, 205–13. Bucharest: Editura Academiei; Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- SCHMITT, Wolfgang O. (1979), "Lateinischer und griechischer «Donatus»: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Griechenstudien im lateinischen Mittelalter." *Philologus* 123.1: 97–108.
- SCHMITZ, Wilhelm (1908), *Alcuins Ars grammatica, die lateinische Schulgrammatik der karolingischen Renaissance*. Ratingen: Brehmen.
- SCHNEIDER, Fedor (1959), *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter: Die geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance*. Cologne and Graz: Böhlau.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes (1965), *Die Vita Heinrichs IV. und Sallust: Studien zu Stil und Imitatio in der mittellateinischen Prosa*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- SCHNEIDER, Johannes (1979), "Erbe und Eigenständigkeit in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters." *Philologus* 123.1: 2–25.

- SCHNEIDER, Johannes (1981), "Das Wort idiota im mittelalterlichen Latein." In *Untersuchungen ausgewählter altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe und ihr Fortleben in Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf, 132–57. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- SCHNEIDER, Reinhard (1972), "Die Königserhebung Heinrichs II. im Jahre 1002." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 28.1: 74–104.
- SCHRADER, K. (1912), "Zu den klassischen Studien des Johannes von Salisbury." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 67.1: 150–1.
- SCHRAMM, Percy Ernst (1929), *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- SCHRÖDER, Bianca-Jeanette (1999), *Titel und Text: Zur Entwicklung lateinischer Gedichtüberschriften*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.
- SCHRÖDER, Isolde (1980), *Die westfränkischen Synoden von 888 bis 987 und ihre Überlieferung*. Munich: MGH.
- SCHROEDER, Jean (1977), *Bibliothek und Schule der Abtei Echternach um die Jahrtausendwende*. Luxemburg: Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg.
- SCIVOLETTO, Nino (1964), "I limiti dell'«ars grammatica» in Gregorio Magno." *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 17.3: 210–38.
- SEIBERT, Hubertus (1997), "Herrscher und Mönchtum im spätottonischen Reich: Vorstellung – Funktion – Interaktion." In *Otto III. – Heinrich II.: Eine Wende?*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, 205–66. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- SERBAT, G. (1983), "Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: A propos de la thèse de Louis Holtz." *Revue des Études Latines* 61: 56–64.
- SHAILOR, Barbara A. (1996), "A Cataloger's View." In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, 153–67. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- SHARPE, Richard (1992), "Medieval Library Catalogues." *Scriptorium* 46.2: 289–90.
- SHARPE, Richard (1995), "Reconstructing Medieval Libraries." In *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, 399–408. Louvain-la-Neuve: FIDEM.
- SHARPE, Richard (2003), *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- SHEERIN, Daniel (1987), "In Media Latinitate." *Helios* 14.2: 51–67.
- SHEERIN, Daniel (1996), "Christian and Biblical Latin." In *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg, 137–56. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- SIEGMUND, Albert (1949), *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*. Munich and Pasing: Filser.
- SILAGI, Gabriel (1967), *Untersuchungen zur 'Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum' des Gerhard von Csanád*. Munich: Ardeo-Gesellschaft.
- SILVESTRE, Hubert (1950), "Les citations et réminiscences classiques dans l'œuvre de Rupert de Deutz." *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 45.1–2: 140–74.
- SILVESTRE, Hubert (1961), "Notice sur Adelman de Liège, évêque de Brescia (†1061)." *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 56.3–4: 855–71.

- SKARD, Eiliv (1957), "Eine Lucanreminiszenz bei Theodoricus Monachus." *Symbolae Osloenses* 33: 156–7.
- SKEAT, T.C. (1956), "The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 42: 179–208.
- SKUBISZEWSKI, Piotr (1985), "Ecclesia, Regnum et Sacerdotium dans l'art des X^e–XI^e s.: Idées et structures des images." *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 28.2–3: 133–79.
- SLEUMER, Albert (1926), *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch*. Limburg: Steffen.
- SMALLEY, Beryl (1971), "Sallust in the Middle Ages." In *Classical Influences on European Culture a.d. 500–1500*, ed. Robert Ralph Bolgar, 165–75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SMOLAK, Kurt (2002), "Prospettive sul latino dei cristiani nel Medioevo." In *Il latino e i cristiani: Un bilancio all'inizio del terzo millennio*, ed. Enrico dal Covolo and Manlio Sodi, 207–30. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- SÓLYMOS, Szilveszter (2001), "Az első bencés szerzetesek hazánkban" (The first Benedictine monks in Hungary). In *Paradisum plantavit: Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* (*Paradisum plantavit: Benedictine monasteries in medieval Hungary*), ed. Imre Takács, 48–60. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság.
- SONDEREGGER, Stefan (1980), "Notker der Deutsche und Cicero: Aspekte einer mittelalterlichen Rezeption." In *Florilegium Sangallense: Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto P. Clavaderscher, Helmut Maurer, and Stefan Sonderegger, 243–66. St. Gall: Ostschweiz; Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- SÖRÖS, Pongrácz (1899), "Bakonybél alapítása, első évei" (The foundation and the early years of Bakonybél). *Katholikus Szemle* 13.4: 669–76.
- SÖRÖS, Pongrácz (1902), "Collatio codicis olim Frisingensis, nunc Monacensis cum editione comitis episcopi Batthian." In *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1, 579–86. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- SOUTER, Alexander (1949), *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- SOUTHERN, Richard William (1993), *The Making of the Middle Ages*. London: Pimlico.
- SOUTHERN, Richard William (1995), *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Vol. 1, *Foundations*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- STECHERT, Ericus (1912), *De Catonis quae dicuntur distichis*. Greifswald: Hartmann.
- STEGMÜLLER, Fridericus (1950), *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*. Vol. 2, *Commentaria: Auctores A–G*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and Instituto Francisco Suárez.
- STEINACKER, Harold (1954), "Die römische Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62: 28–66.
- STEINEN, Wolfram von den (1957), "Das mittelalterliche Latein als historische Phänomen." *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 7.1: 1–27.
- STEVENS, Wesley M. (1980), "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's *De natura rerum*." *Isis* 71.2: 268–77.
- STEWART, Douglas J. (1968), "Sallust and *Fortuna*." *History and Theory* 7.3: 298–317.

- STILTINGUS, Joannes (1868), "De sancto Stephano primo Hungarorum rege." In *AASS Septembris*, ed. Joannes Pinius, Joannes Stiltingus, Joannes Limpenus, and Joannes Veldius, vol. 1, 456–562. Paris and Rome: Palme.
- STOCK, Brian (1983), *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- STOCK, Brian (1990), "Lecture, interiorité et modèles de comportement dans l'Europe des XI^e–XII^e s." *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 33.2: 103–12.
- STOTZ, Peter (1993), "Esse velim Graecus...: Griechischer Glanz und griechische Irrlichter im mittelalterlichen Latein." In *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten*, ed. Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner, 433–51. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- STOTZ, Peter (2002), *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1, *Einleitung – Lexikologische Praxis – Wörter und Sachen – Lehnwortgut*. Munich: Beck.
- STOTZ, Peter (1996), *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Vol. 3, *Lautlehre*. Munich: Beck.
- STRECKER, Karl (1957), *Introduction to Medieval Latin*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- TRITTMATTER, Anselm (1963), "Liturgical Manuscripts Preserved in Hungarian Libraries." *Traditio* 19: 487–507.
- STROTHMANN, Jürgen (2000), "Caesar und Augustus im Mittelalter: Zwei komplementäre Bilder des Herrschers in der staufischen Kaisersidee." In *Tradita et Inventa: Beiträge zur Rezeption der Antike*, ed. Manuel Baumbach, 59–72. Heidelberg: Winter.
- STRUVE, Tilman (1978), *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- STRUVE, Tilman (1988), "Kaisertum und Romgedanke in salischer Zeit." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 44.2: 424–54.
- SULYOK, Hedvig (2000), Review of *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aeclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum*, ed. and trans. Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű. *Nuova Corvina* 7: 8–12.
- SUTPHEN, M.C. (1901), "A Further Collection of Latin Proverbs, 4." *American Journal of Philology* 22.4: 361–91.
- SWEENEY, Robert Dale (1968), "The «Catalogus Codicum Classicorum Latinorum»: A Proposal and Progress Report." *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 11: 339–44.
- SWIGGERS, Pierre (1984), "Isidore de Séville et la codification de la grammaire latine." *Studi Medievali* 25.1: 279–89.
- SWIGGERS, Pierre (1995), "L'héritage grammatical gréco-latin et la grammaire au moyen âge." In *Mediaeval Antiquity*, ed. Andries Welkenhuysen, Herman Braet, and Werner Verbeke, 159–95. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1968), "Eretnekség és tirannizmus" (Heresy and tyranny). *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 72.5: 501–16.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1973), "La missione politica ed ideologica di San Gerardo in Ungheria." In *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca, 23–36. Florence: Olschki.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1976), "Gellért, marosi püspök" (Bishop Gerard of Maros). *Világosság* 17.2: 91–6.

- SZEGFÜ, László (1979a), "Néhány XI. századi «liber portabilis» nyomában (Gellért püspök kézikönyvei)" (Tracing some eleventh-century *libri portabiles*: the manuals of Bishop Gerard). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Bibliothecaria* 8.1: 3–60.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1979b), "Gellért püspök halála" (The death of Bishop Gerard). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 66: 19–28.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1980), "Vata népe" (The people of Vata). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 67: 11–9.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1983), "Szent Gellért családjáról" (On the family of Saint Gerard). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 75: 11–8.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1985a), "Szent Gellért prédikációi" (The sermons of Saint Gerard). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 82: 19–29.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1985b), "Adalékok Szent Gellért görög műveltségének kutatásához" (On the research of the Greek culture of Saint Gerard). *Acta Academiae Pedagogicae Szegediensis* 3: 43–9.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1986), "Kortörténeti problémák Gellért püspök Deliberatiójában és legendáiban" (Historical problems in the *Deliberatio* and the legends of Bishop Gerard). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 83: 11–21.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1998), "Szent Gellért világgépéről" (On the world view of Saint Gerard). In *Szent Gellért vértanúságának 950. évfordulóján* (On the nine-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the martyrdom of Saint Gerard), ed. László Szegfű, 57–68. Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1999a), "Szent Gellért egy tervezett vagy elveszett művéről" (On a planned or lost work of Saint Gerard). In *Ötvenéves a szegedi szlavisztika* (The fifty years of Slavistics in Szeged), ed. Károly Bibok, István Ferincz, and Imre H. Tóth, 165–76. Szeged: JATE Szláv Intézete.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1999b), "Még egyszer Szent Gellért prédikációiról" (Once again on the sermons of Saint Gerard). *Aetas* 15.3: 12–21.
- SZEGFÜ, László (1999c), "Pogányság és kereszténység a 10. századi Kárpát-medencében" (Paganism and Christianity in the Carpathian basin in the tenth century). *Vigilia* 64.11: 827–38.
- SZEGFÜ, László (2000), "Gellért püspök filozófiája" (The philosophy of Bishop Gerard). In *Európa és Magyarország Szent István korában* (Europe and Hungary at the time of Saint Stephen), ed. Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk, 387–402. Szeged: Csongrád Megye Önkormányzata.
- SZÉKELY, György (1960), "Ungarns Stellung zwischen Kaiser, Papst und Byzanz zur Zeit der Kluniazenserreform." In *Spiritualità cluniacense*, ed. Giuseppe Ermini, 312–25. Todi: Accademia Tudertina.
- SZÉKELY, György (1967), "La Hongrie et Byzance au X^e–XII^e siècles." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 13.3–4: 291–311.
- SZÉKELY, György (1982), "Ideologische Fragen des europäischen Hochfeudalismus in den Ländern Ost- und Mitteleuropas während des 11. Jahrhunderts." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 6: 87–101.

- SZÉKELY, György (1983), "Kronensendungen und Königskreationen im Europa des 11. Jahrhunderts." In *Insignia regni Hungariae*. Vol. 1, *Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, ed. Ferenc Fülep, 17–28. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum.
- SZENDREI, Janka (1998), "«In basilica sancti Emmerami»: András és Benedek históriája" (*In basilica sancti Emmerami: the history of Andrew and Benedict*). *Magyar Zene* 37.1: 21–8.
- SZENNAY, András (1980), "Szent Gellért lelkesége és teológiája" (The spirituality and theology of Saint Gerard). *Vigilia* 45.12: 808–12.
- SZENTPÉTERY, Imre (1918), *Szent István király pécsváradi és pécsi alapítólevele* (King Saint Stephen's foundation charters of Pécs and Pécsvárad). Budapest: MTA.
- SZOVÁK, Kornél (1993), "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislas)." In *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan, 241–64. London: King's College.
- SZOVÁK, Kornél (1999), ed. *LLMAH*. Vol. 5. Budapest: Argumentum.
- SZOVÁK, Kornél, and VESZPRÉMY, László (1999), ed. *SRH*. Vol. 2. Budapest: Nap.
- SZOVÁK, Kornél (2001), "Monachorum pater ac dux: A bencés szerzetesség korai századai Magyarországon" (*Monachorum pater ac dux: the early centuries of Benedictine monasticism in Hungary*). In *Paradisum plantavit: Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* (*Paradisum plantavit: Benedictine monasteries in medieval Hungary*), ed. Imre Takács, 35–47. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság.
- SZÜCS, Jenő (1972), "König Stephan in der Sicht der modernen ungarischen Geschichtsforschung." *Südost-Forschungen* 31: 17–40.
- SZÜCS, Jenő (1988a), "Szent István Intelmei: Az első magyarországi államelméleti mű" (The Admonitions of Saint Stephen: the first Hungarian work on political theory). In *Szent István és kora* (Saint Stephen and his time), ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos, 32–53. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete.
- SZÜCS, Jenő (1988b), "King Stephen's Exhortations and His State." *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.1: 89–97.
- SZÜCS, Jenő (1993–1996), "Zwei Fragmente, 2., Zu den Begriffen *populus*, *gens* und *natio* im frühmittelalterlichen Ungarn (11.–12. Jh.)." *East Central Europe* 20–23.2: 75–90.
- TARRANT, R.J. (1983), "Lucan." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 215–8. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- TAYLOR, Barry (1992), "Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55: 19–35.
- TAYLOR, Henry Osborn (1901), *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- THOMPSON, A. (1948), "Classical Echoes in Medieval Authors." *History* 33.1: 29–48.
- THOMPSON, James Westfall (1967), *The Medieval Library*. New York and London: Hafner.
- THOMSON, H.J. (1928), "Lucan, Statius, and Juvenal in the Early Centuries." *Classical Quarterly* 22.1: 24–7.
- THOMSON, R.M. (1972), "The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Speculum* 47.4: 617–45.

- THOROCZKAY, Gábor (1999), "Az első magyarországi érsekek kérdéséhez" (On the question of the first archbishops in Hungary). In *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar történelemről* (Studies on the medieval history of Hungary), ed. Sarolta Homonnai, Ferenc Piti, and Ildikó Tóth, 129–42. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely.
- THOROCZKAY, Gábor (2001), "The Dioceses and Bishops of Saint Stephen." In *Saint Stephen and his Country*, ed. Attila Zsoldos, 49–68. Budapest: Lucidus.
- THUROT, Charles (1869), *Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.
- TIETZ, Werner (1997), "Rex humillimus: Heiligkeit bei Helgaud von Fleury." *Hagiographica* 4: 113–32.
- TIFFOU, Etienne (1977), "Salluste et la fortuna." *Phoenix* 31.4: 349–60.
- TIMKÓ, Imre (1970), "A latin- és görög-szertartású kereszténység együttélése Szent István uralkodásának idejében (XI. század)" (The coexistence of Latin and Greek Christianity during the reign of Saint Stephen: eleventh century). *Vigilia* 35.11: 727–32.
- TISCHLER, Matthias M. (1999), "Die ottonische Klosterschule in Einsiedeln zur Zeit Abt Gregors: Zum Bildungsprofil des hl. Wolfgang." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 110.1: 93–181.
- TOPPANI, Innocente (1991), "Considerazioni sui termini *classico*, *classicismo*." *Aufidus* 13: 155–67.
- TÖRÖK, József (1989), "11–12. századi liturgikus kódexeink tipológiája" (Typology of Hungarian liturgical codices of the eleventh and twelfth centuries). In *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról* (Studies on the book culture of medieval Hungary), ed. László Szelestei Nagy, 63–76. Budapest: OSzK.
- TÖRÖK, József (1992), "Influenze lotaringe sulla liturgia dell'Europa centrale intorno all'anno Mille." In *Storia religiosa dell'Ungheria*, ed. Adriano Caprioli and Luciano Vaccaro, 89–101. Milan: Casa di Matrona; Gazzada: Fondazione Ambrosiana Paolo VI.
- TÖRÖK, József (1995), "Gherardus de Venetis auctor et monachus? (Un clerc médiéval et la Bible)." In *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli, 203–9. Florence: Olschki.
- TÖRÖK, József (2001), "Il primo re d'Ungheria e l'organizzazione della Chiesa Ungherese." In *Gerberto d'Aurillac da abate di Bobbio a papa dell'anno 1000*, ed. Flavio G. Nuvolone, 455–66. Bobbio: Archivum Bobiense.
- TRAMONTIN, Silvio (1988), "Problemi agiografici e profili di santi." In *La chiesa di Venezia nei secoli XI–XIII*, ed. Franco Tonon, 153–77. Venice: Studium Cattolico Veneziano.
- TRAUBE, Ludwig (1891), *O Roma nobilis: Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter*. Munich: Akademie.
- TRAUBE, Ludwig (1892), "Das Gastmahl des Cicero." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 47.4: 558–68.
- TRAUBE, Ludwig (1911), "Die lateinische Grammatik des Mittelalters." In *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*. Vol. 2, *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, 93–103. Munich: Beck.
- TRAUBE, Ludwig (1920), "Das angebliche Fragment (des Livius) bei Jonas." In *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*. Vol. 3, *Kleine Schriften*, 42–5. Munich: Beck.
- TROMPF, G.W. (1973), "The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34.1: 3–26.

- TSCHAN, Francis J. (1942), *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*. Vol. 1, *His Life and Times*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.
- TUGENE, Georges (2001), *L'idée de nation chez Bède le Vénérable*. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes.
- TUNBERG, Terence O. (1987), "Conrad of Hirsau and his Approach to the *Auctores*." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 15: 65–94.
- TUNBERG, Terence O. (1996), "Prose Styles and *Cursus*." In *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg, 111–21. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- TURCAN-VERKERK, Anne-Marie (1992), "Entre Verdun et Lobbes, un catalogue de bibliothèque scolaire inédit: A propos du manuscrit Verdun BM 77." *Scriptorium* 46.2: 157–203.
- UGLIONE, Rhenatus (1982), "De Vergilio apud Patres Ecclesiae." *Latinitas* 30.1: 15–30.
- UHLIRZ, Mathilde (1951), *Die Krone des heiligen Stephan, ersten Königs von Ungarn*. Graz, Vienna, and Munich: Stiasny.
- UHRMAN, Iván (2003), "Iulus Rex: A gyula-dinasztia, a kabarok és Szent István Intelmei" (*Iulus Rex: the gyula dynasty, the Kabars, and the Admonitions of Saint Stephen*). *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 116.2: 267–366.
- ULLMAN, B.L. (1932), "Classical Authors in Certain Medieval *Florilegia*." *Classical Philology* 27.1: 1–42.
- ULLMAN, B.L. (1954), "A List of Classical Manuscripts (in an Eighth-Century Codex) perhaps from Corbie." *Scriptorium* 8.1: 24–37.
- ULLMANN, Walter (1969), *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*. London: Methuen.
- UZSOKI, András (1997), "I. András király példaképe: A Szent István-i kereszténység" (The model for King Andrew I: the Christianity of Saint Stephen). In *Egyház és művelődés: Pannonhalma 996–1996* (Church and culture: Pannonhalma 996–1996), ed. Ákos Hajdú and Zsuzsanna Kokas, 17–25. Budapest: MTE.
- V. KOVÁCS, Sándor (1987), "A szájhagyományozás századai irodalmunkban (Eszmetörténeti hatások a középkori latinság koráig)" (The centuries of oral tradition in Hungarian literature: cultural influences up to the age of medieval Latinity). In *Eszmetörténet és régi magyar irodalom: Tanulmányok* (Cultural history and old Hungarian literature: studies), 11–60. Budapest: Magvető.
- VÁCZY, Péter (1930), "A bakonybéli összeírás kora és hitelessége" (The date and authenticity of the inventory of Bakonybél). *Levéltári Közlemények* 8.2: 314–31.
- VÁCZY, Péter (1934), "Stephan der heilige als päpstlicher Legat." *Gróf Klebelsberg Kunó Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve* 4: 27–41.
- VÁCZY, Péter (1935), *Die erste Epoche des ungarischen Königtums*. Pécs: Danubia.
- VÁCZY, Péter (1958), "A korai magyar történet néhány kérdéséről" (On some questions of early Hungarian history). *Századok* 92.1–4: 265–345.
- VAINIO, Raija (1999), *Latinitas and Barbarismus according to the Roman Grammarians: Attitudes towards Language in the Light of Grammatical Examples*. Turku: University of Turku Department of Classics.

- VAINIO, Raija (2000), "Use and Function of Grammatical Examples in Roman Grammarians." *Mnemosyne* 53.1: 30–48.
- VAJAY, Szabolcs (1988), "Veszprémvölgy és alapítói" (Veszprémvölgy and its founders). *Levéltári Szemle* 38.4: 20–4.
- VAJDA, Tamás (2002), "Magányos remekmű a XI. századból" (A lonely masterpiece from the eleventh century). *Aetas* 17.4: 176–81.
- VAN ENGEL, John (1997), "Letters, Schools, and Written Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Johannes Fried, 97–132. Munich: Oldenbourg.
- VANYSACKER, Dries (1995), *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1725–1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane*. Brussels and Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome.
- VATTASSO, Marcus (1906), *Initia patrum aliorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vol. 1. Rome: Typis Vaticanis.
- VESSEY, Mark (1992), "Literacy and *Litteratura*, A.D. 200–800." *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 13: 139–60.
- VESZPRÉMY, László (1985), "Anastasius esztergomi érsek műveltségéről" (On the culture of Archbishop Anastasius of Esztergom). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101.2: 137–41.
- VESZPRÉMY, László (1996a), "A pannonhalmi bencés apátság egyházi kincseit, könyveit, javait és népeit összeíró oklevél" (The charter recording the ecclesiastical treasures, books, goods and peoples of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma). In *Mons Sacer 996–1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve (Mons Sacer 996–1996: one thousand years of Pannonhalma)*, ed. Imre Takács, vol. 1, 118–20. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság.
- VESZPRÉMY, László (1996b), "A pannonhalmi bencés apátság könyvei a 11. század végi összeírás alapján" (The books of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma according to the late eleventh-century inventory). In *Mons Sacer 996–1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve (Mons Sacer 996–1996: one thousand years of Pannonhalma)*, ed. Imre Takács, vol. 1, 327–32. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság.
- VESZPRÉMY, László (1997), "La biblioteca nell'inventario della fine del secolo undicesimo (1093–1095)." In *Mille anni di storia dell'arcidiocesi di Pannonhalma*, ed. József Pál and Ádám Somorjai, 83–99. Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma; Pannonhalma: Società Internazionale per l'Enciclopedia della Storia Ecclesiastica in Ungheria.
- VESZPRÉMY, László (2000), "On the Margins of Book and Charter Palaeography: The Dating of Some Hungarian Manuscripts from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century." In *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. Michael Gervers, 193–205. Woodbridge: Boydell Press; Budapest: Collegium Budapest.
- VESZPRÉMY, László (2003), "Adémar de Chabannes krónikájának magyar vonatkozásai: Textus és kontextus" (The Hungarian connections of the chronicle of Adémar de Chabannes: text and context). *Századok* 137.2: 459–67.
- VETULANI, Adam (1951), "La Bibliothèque de l'Église Cathédrale de Cracovie d'après le catalogue de 1110." In *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J. Vol. 2, Moyen âge – Époques moderne et contemporaine*, 489–507. Gembloux: Duculot.

- VEZIN, Jean (1967), "Importante contribution à l'étude du «scriptorium» de Cluny à la limite des XI^e et XII^e siècles." *Scriptorium* 21.2: 312–20.
- VILLA, Claudia (1979), "«Denique Terenti dultia legimus acta...»: Una «lectura Terenti» a S. Faustino di Brescia nel secolo IX." *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22: 1–44.
- VILLA, Claudia (1987), "Tradizione classica e cultura letteraria: I programmi scolastici." In *Dall'eremo al cenobio: La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, ed. Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, 292–320. Milan: Scheiwiller.
- VILLA, Claudia (1992), "I classici." In *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*. Vol. 1.1, *La produzione del testo*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi, and Enrico Menestò, 479–522. Rome: Salerno.
- VINAY, Gustavo (1989), "Otlone di Sant'Emmeram ovvero l'autobiografia di un neurotico." In *Peccato che non leggessero Lucrezio*, 151–69. Spoleto: CISAM.
- VINCESI, Maria Assunta (1979), "Servio e la riscoperta di Lucano nel IV–V secolo." *Atene e Roma* 24.1–2: 2–40.
- VINCESI, Maria Assunta (1981), "La fortuna di Lucano fra tarda antichità e Medioevo, 1–2." *Cultura e Scuola* 20.1–2: 62–72, 66–75.
- VISCARDI, Antonio (1938), "La scuola medievale e la tradizione scolastica classica." *Studi Medievali* 11.1–2: 159–70.
- VIZKELETY, András (1985a), "Szent Gellért: Fontolgatás a három ifjú énekéről (Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum)" (Saint Gerard: Deliberation on the songs of the three boys – *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*). In *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety, 82. Budapest: OSzK.
- VIZKELETY, András (1985b), "Szent Gellért elveszett prédikációiból fennmaradt szöveg" (A surviving text from the lost sermons of Saint Gerard). In *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety, 83. Budapest: OSzK.
- VIZKELETY, András (2001a), "Gli studi grammaticali in Ungheria nel Medioevo." In *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*, ed. Sante Gracioti and Amadeo Di Francesco, 105–18. Rome: Calamo.
- VIZKELETY, András (2001b), "Ein Textzeuge der Grammatikstudien an der Universität Pécs?" In *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, ed. Márta Font and László Szögi, 41–9. Pécs: Universität Pécs.
- VIZKELETY, András (2001c), "A Gellért-legendák" (The Gerard legends). *Vigilia* 66.6: 457–65.
- VOLLRATH, Hanna (1991), "Oral Modes of Perception in Eleventh-Century Chronicles." In *Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack, 102–11. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- WAGNER, Anne (1996), *Gorze au XI^e siècle: Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l'Empire*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- WAGNER, David L. (1983), "The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship." In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. David L. Wagner, 1–31. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- WALLACE-HADRILL, J.M. (1965), "The *Via Regia* of the Carolingian Age." In *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. Beryl Smalley, 22–41. Oxford: Blackwell.
- WALLACH, Liutpold (1950), "Onulf of Speyer: A Humanist of the Eleventh Century." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6: 35–56.
- WALLACH, Liutpold (1955), "Education and Culture in the Tenth Century." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 9: 18–22.
- WALSH, Gerald Groveland (1942), *Medieval Humanism*. New York: Macmillan.
- WALSH, P.G. (1961), *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WALTER, Hermann (1976), "Textkritische Beiträge zum Lukankommentar des Arnulf von Orléans." *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 11: 28–33.
- WARD, John O. (1978), "From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*." In *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy, 25–67. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- WARD, John O. (1980), Review of CCCM. Vol. 49, ed. Gabriel Silagi. *Speculum* 55.2: 361–2.
- WARD, John O. (1988), "Magic and Rhetoric from Antiquity to the Renaissance: Some Ruminations." *Rhetorica* 6.1: 57–118.
- WARD, John O. (1990), "Rhetoric and the Art of Dictamen." In *Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge*. Vol. 3, *Méthodes et instruments du travail intellectuel au moyen âge*, ed. Olga Weijers, 20–61. Turnhout: Brepols.
- WARNER, David A. (1995), "Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship." *Viator* 26: 53–76.
- WARNER, David A. (1999), "Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III." *Journal of Medieval History* 25.1: 1–18.
- WARNER, David A. (2001), "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of *Adventus*." *Speculum* 76.2: 255–83.
- WARNER, David A. (2002), "Thietmar of Merseburg: The Image of the Ottonian Bishop." In *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto, 85–110. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- WARREN, Minton (1885), "Phillipps Glossary." *American Journal of Philology* 6.4: 451–61.
- WATTENBACH, Wilhelm (1870), "Bemerkungen zu einigen österreichischen Geschichtsquellen." *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 42.2: 493–522.
- WATTENBACH, Wilhelm (1894), *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Hertz.
- WEISCHE, Alfons (1978), "Zur Bedeutung der römischen Retorik." In *Latein und Europa: Traditionen und Renaissance*, ed. Karl Büchner, 147–67. Stuttgart: Reclam.
- WEISHEIPL, James A. (1965), "Classification of Sciences in Medieval Thought." *Mediaeval Studies* 27: 54–90.
- WEISWEILER, H. (1952), "Die Ps.-Dionysiuskommentare «In Coelestem Hierarchiam» des Skotus Eriugena und Hugos von St. Viktor." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 19: 26–47.

- WELLMAN, Tennyson J. (2002), "Apocalyptic Concerns and Mariological Tactics in Eleventh-Century France." In *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto, 132–63. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- WEMPLE, Suzanne F. (1974), "Claudius of Turin's Organic Metaphor or the Carolingian Doctrine of Corporations." *Speculum* 49.2: 222–37.
- WENDEHORST, Alfred (1996), "Who Could Read and Write in the Middle Ages?" In *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages: In Honour of Karl J. Leyser*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath, 57–88. London: German Historical Institute; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WERMINGHOFF, Albert (1902), "Die Fürstenspiegel der Karolingerzeit." *Historische Zeitschrift* 53.2: 193–214.
- WERNER, Shirley (1994), "On the History of the *Commenta Bernensia* and the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96: 343–68.
- WERNER, Shirley (1998), *The Transmission and Scholia to Lucan's Bellum Civile*. Hamburg: Lit.
- WESTRA, Haijo (2001), "Originality in Medieval Latin Literature." In *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon, 281–92. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill.
- WETHERBEE, Winthrop (1973), "Some Twelfth-Century Literary Developments and the Classical Tradition." *Studies in Medieval Culture* 4.1: 109–17.
- WHITBREAD, Leslie G. (1972), "Conrad of Hirsau as Literary Critic." *Speculum* 47.2: 234–45.
- WHITE, Caroline (2002), "Medieval Senses of Classical Words." *Peritia* 16: 131–43.
- WIELAND, Gernot (1992), "Alcuin's Ambiguous Attitude towards the Classics." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2: 84–95.
- WIELAND, Gernot (1998), "Interpreting the Interpretation: The Polysemy of the Latin Gloss." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8: 59–71.
- WILLIAMS, John R. (1954), "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century." *Speculum* 29.4: 661–77.
- WILMART, André (1921), "Le Convent et la Bibliothèque de Cluny vers le milieu du XI^e siècle." *Revue Mabillon* 11.2–3: 89–124.
- WILMART, André (1945), *Codices Regimensis Latini*. Vol. 2, *Codices 251–500*. Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana.
- WINTER, Ursula (1989–1990), "Lateinische Literatur des X. Jahrhunderts in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken." *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 24–25: 553–8.
- WINTERBOTTOM, M. (1983), "Suetonius." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 399–405. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- WOLLASCH, Joachim (1985), "Der Einfluss des Mönchtums auf Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit." In *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit*, ed. Karl Schmid, 35–48. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- WRIGHT, Roger (2002a), "How Latin Came to Be a Foreign Language for All." In *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin*, 3–17. Turnhout: Brepols.
- WRIGHT, Roger (2002b), "The Role of Priscian." In *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin*, 70–84. Turnhout: Brepols.
- ZARNCKE, Fr. (1966), *Der deutsche Cato*. Osnabrück: Zeller.

- ZÁVODSZKY, Levente (1904), *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* (The sources of the laws and conciliar decrees at the time of Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislav, and Coloman). Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- ZELZER, Michaela (1987), "Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition." *Wiener Studien* 100: 201–26.
- ZIEZULEWICZ, William (1991), "The School of Chartres and Reform Influences before the Pontificate of Leo IX." *Catholic Historical Review* 77.3: 383–402.
- ZIMMERMANN, Rudolf (1929), *Der Sallusttext im Altertum*. Munich: Urania.
- ZIOLKOWSKI, Jan (1990), "Classical Influences on Medieval Latin Views of Poetic Inspiration." In *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray, 15–38. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- ZIOLKOWSKI, Jan (1997), "Die mittellateinische Literatur." In *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie*, ed. Fritz Graf, 297–322. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.
- ZIOLKOWSKI, Jan (2000), "Nota Bene: Why the Classics Were Neumed in the Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10: 74–114.
- ZIOLKOWSKI, Jan (2001), "The Highest Form of Compliment: *Imitatio* in Medieval Latin Culture." In *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon, 293–307. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill.
- ZOLTVÁNY, Irén (1902a), "A magyarországi benczés irodalom a tatárjárás előtt" (Benedictine literature in Hungary before the Mongol invasion). In *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1, 337–474. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- ZOLTVÁNY, Irén (1902b), "Válasz Békefi Remignek" (Reply to Remig Békefi). *Századok* 36.9: 870–1.
- ZWIERLEIN, Otto (1973), "Karolus Magnus – alter Aeneas." In *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Alf Önnersfors, Johannes Rathofer, and Fritz Wagner, 44–52. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- ZWIERLEIN, Otto (2002), "«Interpretation» in Antike und Mittelalter." In *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter: Beiträge zur seiner Erforschung*, ed. Wilhelm Geerlings and Christian Schulze, 79–101. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill.

INDEX

- Aachen, 64
 Abbo of Fleury, 39, 96
 Abelard, 163, 164, 168
Accessus ad auctores, 15, 33, 164, 168, 172
Acta sanctorum, 31
 Adalbero of Reims, 64, 163
 Adam of Bremen, 41, 55, 68, 69, 148, 167
 Adelman of Liège, 19
 Ademar of Chabannes, 74, 145
Admonitions, 11, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 143, 156, 178, 179
 Admont, 77, 141, 142
 Admont codex, 31
Adnotationes super Lucanum, 166
 Aeneas, 41, 59
 Aesop, 51, 168
 Alan of Lille, 168
 Alcmeon of Croton, 52
 Alcuin, 16, 17, 37, 41, 42, 48, 59, 60, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 90, 106, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 140, 142, 143, 152, 153, 154, 161, 166
 Aldhelm, 165, 166
 Alexander of Villedieu, 18, 171
 Ambrosius Autpertus, 91, 101
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 76, 88
 Anastasius of Esztergom, 24, 27, 34
 Anastasius Bibliothecarius, 55, 84
 Anchin, 174
 Andrew, 143, 144, 145
 Andrew I of Hungary, 33, 157
 Andrew II of Hungary, 158
 Annals of Altaich, 76
 Annals of Hildesheim, 73
 Annals of Pozsony, 23, 24, 25, 75, 76
 Annals of Saint Bertin, 49
 Annals of Saint Emmeram, 141
 Anonymus, 129, 136, 143
 Apuleius, 135, 153, 154, 156
 Arator, 161, 168
 Arezzo, 22
 Aristarchus, 84
 Aristotle, 20, 43, 51, 84, 99, 104, 130
 Arnobius, 32, 37, 47, 59, 69, 101, 127, 155
 Arnold of Saint Emmeram, 27, 141, 143
 Arnold of Weißenstephan, 142
 Arnulf of Orléans, 166
Ars Ambrosiana, 48, 170
Ars Laureshamensis, 47, 60, 68, 98, 170
 Atto of Vercelli, 163
 Ausonius, 42, 95
 Avellana, 122
 Avianus, 161, 168, 172
 Bakonybél, 75, 76, 157, 158
 Balaam, 99
 Balogh, József, 31, 35, 37, 54, 58
 Bamberg, 28
 Barcelona, 29
 Bartholomew of Pécs, 30
 Batthyány, Ignác, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83
 Becker, Gustav, 158
 Bede the Venerable, 37, 42, 48, 53, 55, 56, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 94, 100, 107, 110, 113, 118, 119, 123, 127, 128, 138, 154, 155, 166, 167, 170
 Béla IV of Hungary, 158
 Benedict of Aniane, 87
 Berengar of Tours, 19
 Berno of Reichenau, 169
 Bernold of Constance, 15
 Bernward of Hildesheim, 34
 Bischoff, Bernhard, 88
 Black, Robert, 140
 Blaubeuren, 175
 Bobbio, 174
 Bodor, András, 87
 Boethius, 10, 20, 32, 47, 55, 60, 74, 104, 119, 163, 168, 171

- Boethius of Dacia, 17
 Bogomils, 85
 Bollandists, 24, 29, 31, 73
 Bologna, 73
 Bonipert of Pécs, 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 178
 Brescia, 97
 Bruno of Segni, 89
 Buda, 76
 Bury St. Edmunds, 175
- Caesar, 47, 48, 55, 56, 62, 66, 67, 70, 171
 Caesarea, 14
 Cassianus, 48, 91, 101, 103, 104, 129
 Cassiodorus, 16, 18, 20, 36, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 57, 60, 67, 68, 69, 70, 82, 86, 87, 90, 96, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 117, 120, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 143, 144, 146, 147, 151, 153
 Cassius Dio, 51
 Catalonia, 29
 Cathars, 85
 Catiline, 53
 Cato, 33, 161, 171, 172, 173
 Catullus, 134, 153
 Charlemagne, 40, 41, 163
 Chartres, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 144, 178, 179
 Chrysippus, 84
 Church Fathers, 63, 85, 86, 87, 90, 94, 110, 118, 120
 Cicero, 18, 20, 21, 32, 36, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 79, 82, 86, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103, 104, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 116, 117, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137, 139, 140, 145, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 162, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178
 Clemens, Franciscus Iacobus, 121
 Cluny, 21, 22, 34, 49, 52, 174, 179
Collectio canonum, 39, 42
 Coloman of Hungary, 29, 84
Commentum Brunianum, 97
 Conrad II, 42
 Conrad of Hirsau, 168
- Constantine the Great, 43
 Constantinople, 14, 64, 171
 Corbie, 176
Corpus Areopagiticum, 83, 84
Corpus Christianorum, 79, 82
Corpus iuris Hungarici, 31
 Cracow, 28
 Csanád, 24, 27, 28, 34, 75, 77, 83, 88, 145
 Csóka, J. Lajos, 34, 121
 Curtius Rufus, 44, 146
- Dalmatia, 175
 Daniel, 77, 86, 107, 131, 135, 143
 Dante, 14
 Danube, 27
 David, 33
De diuino patrimonio, 76, 144
De duodecim abusiuus saeculi, 38
 Deér, József, 49
Deliberatio, 11, 29, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 105, 107, 108, 111, 115, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 178, 179
 Diana, 116
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 52
Disticha Catonis, 33, 42, 75, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178
 Dodo, 143, 145
 Donatus, 14, 15, 17, 20, 26, 41, 47, 48, 53, 60, 61, 68, 78, 97, 98, 123, 134, 161, 162, 165, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 178
 Duby, Georges, 50
- Eberhard of Béthune, 18, 171
 Eberhard of Tours, 19
 Eberwin of Trier, 74, 75
 Echternach, 174
 Egbert of Trier, 64
 Einhard, 40
 Einsiedeln, 175
 Ekkehard of Saint Gall, 29
 Ellenhard of Freising, 77
 Endres, Josef Anton, 120
 Engel, Pál, 38

- Epicureanism, 97, 98
 Erasmus of Rotterdam, 177
 Ermengol of Urgel, 46
 Esztergom, 24, 27
 Eugraphius, 97
 Eusebius, 165

 Festus, 129
 Firmicus Maternus, 116
 Fleury, 174
 Florus, 44, 58, 61
 Fontaine, Jacques, 100
 France, 11, 13, 22, 157
 Freising, 28, 77, 81, 125, 142
 Fromund of Tegernsee, 162
 Fronto, 89
 Fuhrmann, Horst, 38
 Fulbert of Chartres, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19,
 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 68, 132,
 134, 144, 178
 Fulda, 17, 40
 Fulgentius, 78
 Füssen, 175

 Gabriel, Astrik L., 80
 Galen, 84
 Galeotto Marzio, 177
 Garampi, Giuseppe, 77
 Gaul, 73
 Gellius, 9, 32, 57, 68, 69, 88, 111, 112, 154
 genera causarum, 123, 147
 genera dicendi, 123, 124, 125, 139
 Gerard of Csanád, 11, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28,
 29, 33, 34, 57, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80,
 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91,
 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101,
 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109,
 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117,
 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125,
 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133,
 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141,
 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149,
 150, 178, 179
 Gerbert of Aurillac, 19, 42, 48, 49, 53, 64,
 122, 163, 166
 Germany, 175
 Géza, 158

 Ghent, 163
 Giles of Rome, 43
 Gisela, 25
 Glauche, Günter, 77
 Gorgias, 84, 99, 130
 Gorze, 174
 Gottfried of Admont, 133
 Greece, 73
 Gregory of Tours, 101
 Gregory the Great, 44, 47, 48, 55, 67, 68,
 70, 71, 87, 100, 101, 106, 112, 113, 114,
 127, 128, 130, 133, 134, 169, 170
 Grünwalder, Johannes, 81, 82, 83, 125, 152
 Gunzo of Novara, 16, 140, 169

 Hagendahl, Harald, 179
 Hartvic, 28, 29, 32, 45, 56, 156
 Hartvic of Saint Emmeram, 15, 21
 Haymo of Fleury, 15
 Haymo of Halberstadt, 33, 79
 Henry, 75
 Henry II, 24, 25, 50
 Henry of Auxerre, 41
 Hermagoras, 84, 99, 130
 Herman of Tournai, 159
 Hermogenes, 18
 Hildesheim, 34
 Hilduin, 14, 22, 23, 24
 Hincmar of Laon, 55, 108
 Hincmar of Reims, 37, 39, 42, 46, 47, 49,
 55, 63, 68, 69, 96, 138, 145, 167
 Hippocrates, 84
 Hirsch, Georgius, 52
 Holy Land, 74, 145
 Homer, 166, 168
 Horace, 18, 20, 23, 28, 42, 58, 92, 97, 116,
 145, 148, 151, 155, 167, 168, 171, 174,
 176
 Horváth, János, 39, 85, 126
 Hrabanus Maurus, 17, 32, 36, 37, 42, 47,
 48, 56, 60, 63, 67, 68, 70, 79, 86, 87, 88,
 90, 91, 93, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102,
 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110,
 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 127, 128,
 129, 133, 135, 138, 153, 154, 156, 163,
 165
 hymnus trium puerorum, 78, 86, 131

Ilias Latina, 153, 168

Ilosvay codex, 31

Ireland, 38

Isidore of Seville, 32, 42, 45, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 70, 87, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 139, 148, 154, 156, 163, 164, 165, 166, 169, 178

Isingrim, 94, 104, 106, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148

Italy, 22, 73, 83, 97

Ivánka, Endre, 176

Ivo of Chartres, 163

Janus Pannonius, 177

Jerusalem, 40, 74, 75

John of Salisbury, 12, 52, 168

John Scottus Eriugena, 48, 55, 68, 84, 86, 87, 88, 91, 103, 107, 108, 110, 113, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 135, 136, 143, 144, 146, 155, 156

Jonas of Orléans, 38, 41, 42, 50, 67

Jordanes, 165

Jotsaldus, 20

Justinian, 43, 44, 47, 55, 56, 63, 68, 69, 103

Juvenal, 92, 167, 168, 174, 176

Juvencus, 168

Kapitánffy, István, 84

Karácsonyi, Béla, 80, 81

Karácsonyi, János, 80

Karolus magnus et Leo papa, 41

Koller, József, 23

Kosztolnyik, Zoltán J., 142

Kremsmünster, 161, 175

Lactantius, 60, 67, 88, 91, 93, 95, 109, 117, 130, 146, 152, 154

Ladislás of Hungary, 87, 157, 158

Landulf, 65

Lanham, Carol Dana, 9

Lateran, 64

laus Romae, 58, 66

Leclercq, Jean, 121

Legenda aurea, 75, 76

Leo the Great, 54, 68, 73, 91, 108, 117, 127, 128

Leo VII, 141

Liber ruber, 158

Liège, 174

Livy, 20, 48, 51, 52, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 133, 139, 151, 152

Lorraine, 34

Lorsch, 19, 174

Louis the Great, 30

Lubac, Henri de, 169

Lucan, 66, 71, 113, 152, 153, 155, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 171, 174, 175, 176, 178

Lucretius, 59, 69, 94, 97, 109, 133, 148, 152

Lupus of Ferrières, 41, 42, 97

Mabillon, Jean, 24, 73

Machiavelli, 52

Macrobius, 48, 56, 63, 68, 70, 82, 87, 102, 106, 111, 112, 114, 116, 123, 125, 127, 138, 146, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 165, 167, 171, 174

Mainz, 50

Mályusz, Elemér, 176

Manitius, Max, 120

Marcus Valerius, 51

Marosvár, 83

Marsilius of Padua, 43

Martial, 53, 130, 146, 164, 176

Martianus Capella, 10, 20, 48, 63, 90, 109, 110, 111, 114, 123, 125, 126, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 174

Mauretania, 14

Maurus, 24, 25, 118, 144, 159

Maximos Planudes, 171, 173

Maximus Confessor, 84

Meichelbeck, Karl, 77

Meinhard of Bamberg, 28

Menander, 84

Mezey, László, 84

Menenius Agrippa, 51, 52

Michelsberg, 175

Migne, 31, 80

Milan, 65

- Modestus of Győr, 23
Monosticha Catonis, 171
 Monte Cassino, 158, 174, 179
 Morosini, 73
 Morrison, Karl F., 67, 122
mos maiorum, 62
 Munk Olsen, Birger, 158
 Murethach, 47, 61, 98, 170

 Nebuchadnezzar, 77
 Nero, 43
 Norway, 43
 Notker Balbulus, 16, 29, 46, 88
 Notker Labeo, 120, 163, 173
 Novatianus, 47

 Oderisius of Monte Cassino, 158
 Odilo of Cluny, 20, 36, 48
 Odilo of Saint Gilles, 157
 Odo of Cluny, 55, 68, 166
 Onulf of Speyer, 119
 Otloh of Saint Emmeram, 97, 101, 118, 119, 120, 138, 167, 172, 173
 Otto II, 64
 Otto III, 21, 49, 64, 65, 66, 163
 Otto of Freising, 16, 80, 168
 Ovid, 20, 28, 32, 39, 42, 45, 47, 59, 61, 110, 112, 113, 118, 138, 145, 148, 152, 154, 156, 168, 171

 Pannonhalma, 11, 12, 25, 158, 159, 160, 161, 164, 169, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179
 Paschasius Radbertus, 33
 Passau, 174
Patrologia Latina, 31, 80
 Paul the Deacon, 15, 56, 69, 86
 Pechenegs, 77
 Pécs, 11, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 177, 178, 179
 Pécsvárad, 157
 Perrecy, 28
 Persius, 28, 30, 167, 168, 174
 Perugia, 22
 Peter Damian, 46, 65, 73, 91, 101, 107, 120, 121, 122, 140, 148, 150, 152, 155, 163, 170, 171

 Peter of Blois, 162
 Peter of Saint Aubert, 29
 Peter Orseolo, 75, 85
 Petronius, 63
 Petrus Helias, 17
 Petrus Hispanus, 17
 Plato, 51, 84, 93, 94, 99
 Plautus, 67, 68, 145, 153, 154, 156
 Pliny the Elder, 28, 47, 100, 110, 112, 114, 133
 Pliny the Younger, 153
 Pomposa, 174
 Porphyry, 20, 84, 104, 105
 Pray, György, 25, 77
 Priscian, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 42, 53, 55, 59, 63, 68, 74, 84, 94, 95, 98, 123, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 161, 162, 166, 169, 171, 174, 175, 178
 Probus, 165
 Propertius, 61, 155
 Prosper of Aquitaine, 168
Prouerbia Graecorum, 62
 Prudentius, 59, 70, 168
psalterium triplex, 161
 Pseudo-Athanasian Creed, 38
 Pseudo-Cyprian, 38
 Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, 84, 86, 103, 107, 128, 132, 135, 143, 144
 Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, 60
 Puy, 174

quadriuium, 99, 105, 108, 116
Quicumque uult, 38
 Quintilian, 44, 48, 51, 53, 61, 62, 68, 70, 88, 89, 90, 95, 99, 100, 111, 117, 123, 124, 125, 126, 130, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 164

 Ralph of Beauvais, 17
 Ratherius of Verona, 39, 64, 92, 96
 Ravenna, 73, 92, 121
 Regensburg, 21, 141, 142
 Regino of Prüm, 15
 Reichenau, 140, 174
 Reims, 19, 163
 Reisbach, 175

- Remigius of Auxerre, 17, 18, 19, 33, 37, 48, 60, 87, 100, 103, 138, 151, 155, 172, 174
renouatio imperii Romanorum, 66
Rhetorica ad Herennium, 57, 68, 123, 124, 125, 151, 156, 164
Rhine, 161
Richard, 143, 144, 145
Richard of Saint Vannes, 74, 145
Richer of Reims, 53, 133, 166
Ripoll, 174
Robert Kilwardby, 17
Rodulfus Glaber, 92
Roma caput mundi, 66
Rome, 9, 11, 51, 54, 57, 58, 59, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 97, 140, 165, 176, 178
Rompolitik, 65
Rufinus of Aquileia, 163
Rupert of Deutz, 168
- Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, 47
Sagredo, 73
Saint Ambrose, 48, 50, 55, 61, 63, 68, 70, 76, 86, 87, 100, 101, 104, 106, 108, 110, 111, 114, 127, 128, 142, 146, 153, 154, 155, 176
Saint Augustine, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 58, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, 75, 78, 86, 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 113, 117, 119, 127, 128, 130, 131, 135, 137, 138, 139, 144, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 156, 162, 165, 170, 171, 176
Saint Bartholomew, 133
Saint Benedict, 34, 75, 121, 170, 175
Saint Corbinian, 77
Saint Cyprian, 67, 68, 133
Saint Egmont, 175
Saint Emeric, 28, 31, 32, 33, 71, 76, 107, 152
Saint Emmeram of Regensburg, 21, 27, 38, 97, 142, 174
Saint Gall, 120, 140, 163, 173, 174, 179
Saint George, 73, 75
Saint Gilles, 157
Saint Jerome, 23, 35, 36, 42, 44, 45, 53, 56, 57, 60, 62, 63, 67, 69, 70, 76, 78, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 101, 104, 106, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 123, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 135, 137, 138, 143, 144, 148, 151, 154, 155, 162, 163, 164, 167, 176
Saint Lambrecht, 175
Saint Martin of Tournai, 159
Saint Peter of Chartres, 20
Saint Peter of Ghent, 163
Saint Thomas Aquinas, 43
Saint Willibrord, 60
Saint Zoerard-Andrew, 144
Saints Zoerard and Benedict, 118, 159
Salisbury, 28
Sallust, 18, 28, 53, 56, 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 70, 130, 152, 162, 168, 174, 175, 176
Salomon, 33
Salzburg, 77, 141, 142
Samuel Aba, 75, 85
San Giorgio Maggiore, 73, 75, 83
Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, 31
Sedulius, 78, 113, 168
Sedulius Scottus, 17, 37, 38, 41, 56, 60, 62, 63, 68, 69, 71, 91, 92, 96, 99, 106, 127, 134, 170
Seneca the Elder, 60, 61, 62, 70, 90, 124, 163
Seneca the Younger, 56, 61, 67, 68, 92, 93, 106, 112, 114, 117, 152, 154, 156
Servius, 28, 42, 45, 47, 53, 59, 62, 63, 70, 94, 114, 116, 123, 151, 153, 154, 164, 165, 166, 176
Servius Tullius, 9
Seville, 173
Siegmund, Albert, 161
Silagi, Gabriel, 77, 79, 80, 81, 87, 132, 133, 141, 149
Simon of Kéza, 57, 154, 173
Siward of Uppsala, 173
Skara, 173
Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, 37, 41, 42, 48, 54, 56, 78, 170
Socrates, 19, 51, 84, 99, 106
Somogyvár, 157
Spalato, 175
spoliatio Aegyptiorum, 117, 118, 176
Statius, 20, 28, 113, 114, 152, 153, 166,

- 168, 174, 176
 Stephen of Hungary, 11, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25,
 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 40, 43,
 45, 49, 50, 56, 65, 71, 74, 75, 76, 84,
 143, 145, 152, 154, 156, 157, 158, 178
 Suetonius, 40, 63, 88, 114
 Sweden, 173
 Sylvester II, *see* Gerbert of Aurillac
Symbolum Athanasianum, 38
 Szegfű, László, 80, 81
 Székesfehérvár, 64

 Tacitus, 55, 56, 61, 63, 100, 124, 133, 151
 Tarsus, 18
 Tegernsee, 175
 Terence, 18, 20, 28, 42, 67, 94, 95, 96, 97,
 116, 148, 152, 154, 161, 167, 171, 174,
 176
 Terentianus Maurus, 177
 Tertullian, 68, 88, 91, 114
 Thales, 84, 99
 Thangmar of Hildesheim, 34, 42, 54, 97
 Theodulf of Orléans, 42, 134
 Theodulus, 168
 Theophano, 64
 Thietmar of Merseburg, 132, 133, 167
 Thomas Becket, 52
 Thucydides, 53
 Thuróczi codex, 31
 Tibullus, 89, 97, 113, 176
 Tihany, 157
 Toledo, 78
 Tortosa, 29
 Tournai, 159
Traditiones Emmeramenses, 141
translatio imperii, 66
 Transylvania, 77
 Tribuno Memmo, 83

trium, 22, 25, 96, 100
 Tuscany, 164

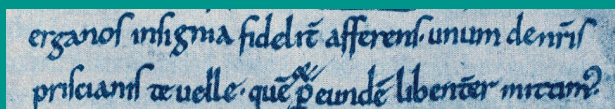
 Vadstena, 173
 Varro, 9, 46, 98, 102, 108, 111
 Velleius Paterculus, 44, 53, 88
 Venantius Fortunatus, 100, 108, 115
 Venice, 18, 23, 73, 75, 83, 88, 97, 121, 171
 Verdun, 145
 Vergil, 16, 18, 20, 23, 28, 41, 55, 59, 65,
 67, 92, 106, 112, 114, 115, 116, 140,
 146, 153, 154, 155, 164, 165, 166, 168,
 171, 174, 175
 Verona, 22, 73
Versus Scoti cuiusdam de alphabeto, 64
 Veszprémvölgy, 84
 Vicenza, 22
 Vienna, 77
 Vilgard of Ravenna, 92
Vita Heinrichi IV. imperatoris, 53, 168
 Vulgate, 35, 36, 37, 84

 Walafrid Strabo, 42, 73, 78, 79, 146
 Walter, 75
 Weißenstephan, 175
 Wibald of Stablo, 164
 Widukind, 69, 167
 Wipo, 42, 61, 69, 167
 Worcester, 28

 Xenophon, 51

 York, 17, 166

 Zalavár, 23
 Zeno, 84, 93
 Zeno of Verona, 78, 156
 Zonaras, 52



CEU Medievalia aims to be a complex publication series presenting handbooks on the state of various research fields and source collections. These volumes concentrate on medieval studies in or pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe and their influence or impact on studies of the Middle Ages worldwide. They are intended primarily for the attention of scholars of the region, but equally they represent contemporary issues of interest to many study centers in this field. They are the work of faculty and students in the framework of research projects, conferences and workshops, and their goal is to influence further research projects and educational programs. These volumes have policy-related implications and aim to influence decision-making related to medieval heritage. Thus they are a combination of high-level graduate education, policy-related research projects, and a plan to make the medieval heritage of Central and Eastern Europe available for an international scholarly audience.

ΑΓΑΘΑ

University of Debrecen
Faculty of Philosophy

Department of Classical Philology

Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies

&

Central European University Press
Budapest–New York



ISBN 963-732-604-9



9 789637 326042